

PRS-NEA-87-076

0 JULY 1987



**FOREIGN
BROADCAST
INFORMATION
SERVICE**

JPRS Report

Near East & South Asia

20 JULY 1987

NEAR EAST & SOUTH ASIA

CONTENTS

NEAR EAST

REGIONAL

- Libyan Commentary Supporting Egypt's Revolution Organization
(AL-ZAHF AL-AKHDAR, 1 Jun 87) 1

EGYPT

- Commentary Decries Terrorism, Attack on AL-MUSAWWAR Editor
('Abd-al-Sattar al-Tawilah; AL-SIYASI, 7 Jun 87) 3

- Decision Made To Arm Police, Reduce Security Forces
('Abd-al-Nabi 'Abd-al-Sattar; AL-WAFD, 10 Jun 87) 6

- Briefs
Nasserists Organize 7

IRAQ

- Various Aspects of Special Forces Training Reviewed
(Sa'ib 'Abd-al-Muhsin; AL-THAWRAH, 20 May 87) 8

ISRAEL

- 'Ometz-Likud Merger Proposal Sparks Criticism
(Menachem Shalev; THE JERUSALEM POST, 2 Jun 87) 12

- Israel's Presence in Security Zone Depicted
(David Rudge; THE JERUSALEM POST, 29 May 87) 13

DAVAR Commentary on West Bank Land Development (Dani Rubinstein; DAVAR, 28 Jun 87)	16
Trend Toward Secularism in Jaifa (Ya'Acov Friedler; THE JERUSALEM POST, 7 Jun 87)	19
Arab Education in Israel Criticized (Majid al-Haji; NEW OUTLOOK, No 4, Apr 87)	20
Exports of West Bank Produce To Treble Next Year (Jerusalem Domestic Service, 15 Jun 87)	23
Rakah's Wilner Interviewed on PRC Trip (Me'ir Wilner Interview; Jerusalem Domestic Service, 17 Jun 87)	24
Coal From Colombia (Ken Schachter; THE JERUSALEM POST, 29 May 87)	26
Defense Cooperation With Switzerland (INNOVATION, No 137, Apr 87)	27
Briefs New Settlements To Be Set Up	28
KUWAIT	
Daily Condemns U.S. Stand on USSR Attending Peace Meeting (KUNA, 25 Jun 87)	29
Energy Development Research Initiated (ARAB TIMES, 6 Jun 87)	30
Economic Ties With Cuba Strengthened (ARAB TIMES, 10 Jun 87)	31
Economic Problems of Development Countries Outlined (ARAB TIMES, 6 Jun 87)	32
LEBANON	
Sha'ban Urges Palestinian Presence in All Arab Countries (AL-SAFIR, 28 May 87)	34
Fadlallah Warns of 'Conspiracy' To Isolate Lebanon (AL-SAFIR, 31 May 87)	36
Fadlallah Deems 'Neutrality' Impossible (AL-SAFIR, 1 Jun 87)	40
Effects of Political Crisis, Inflation on Banks (AL-HAWADITH, 29 May 87)	43

SUDAN

- Al-Sadiq Al-Mahdi Faces Civil War, Secession Threats
(Gunter Krabbe; FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE, 11 Jun 87) 49
- FRG Developmental Projects Discussed
(Klaus Otto Nass; FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE, 5 Jun 87) 52

TUNISIA

- Pro-Iraqi Journal Alleges Iranian Meddling in Religious Movement
(Slami Hosseini; AL-DUSTUR, 8 Jun 87) 55

SOUTH ASIA

AFGHANISTAN

- MUSLIM Interviews Mujahidin Leader Rabbani
(THE MUSLIM, 20 May 87) 60
- DPRA: Zahir Shah Says Solution Possible With Gorbachev
(LE FIGARO, 15 Jun 87) 63
- Briefs
Former Afghan King on Najibullah 65

INDIA

- Delhi Newspaper Blames Police for Meerut Violence
(Editorial; INDIAN EXPRESS, 27 May 87) 66

PAKISTAN

- Problems of Foreign Policy, U.S. Relations Examined
(Editorial; NAWA-I-WAQT, 17 May 87) 68
- Parliamentary Opposition Group, Benazir Meet
(THE MUSLIM, 12 Jun 87) 70
- Sind People Urged Not To Succumb to Hatred of Punjabis
(Rais Amrohvi; JANG, 8 May 87) 71
- Analysis Stresses Role of Regional Planning in Development
(Fareeha Zafar; THE MUSLIM, 9, 10 Jun 87) 73
- Punjab Budget Presented
(Aurangzeb; THE MUSLIM, 9 Jun 87) 76
- Budget Critics Question Afghan War Cost
(Basharat Anjum; THE MUSLIM, 10 Jun 87) 78

Punjab's Annual Development Plans Outlined (THE MUSLIM, 9 Jun 87)	79
Commentary Argues Against Acquiring AWACS (Haider Mehdi; THE MUSLIM, 10 Jun 87)	80
Dalabagh Dam: Resistance Vowed (Rahimullah Yusufzai; THE MUSLIM, 9 Jun 87)	82
Lawlessness Making Sindhis Lose Faith in Government (Mukhtar Aqil; JANG, 27 May 87)	83
Briefs	
JUP Elects Leaders	86
NPP Seeks Khar's Release	86
SRI LANKA	
Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna Resurgence Sparks Interest (THE ISLAND, 14 Jun 87)	87
JVP Leaders Grow Old, by Rajpal Abeynayake	87
Wijeweera Foresaken by Comrades	88
Former Member on Youth	89
Mobilizing Masses, by Rohan Gunasekera	91
SUN Praises PRC Stand on Indian Aid to Tamils (Editorial; SUN, 18 Jun 87)	93
LTTE Radio Intercepted About Move on Indian Food (LANKA PUWATH, 24 Jun 87)	95
Amnesty International 'Allegations' Dismissed (LANKA PUWATH, 23 Jun 87)	97
Massive Rehabilitation Begins Following Operations (LANKA PUWATH, 22 Jun 87)	99
LANKA PUWATH Reports Actions Against LTTE Forces (LANKA PUWATH, 21 Jun 87)	100
Over 61 LTTE, EROS Leaders Said Killed (LANKA PUWATH, 15 Jun 87)	101
4 Soldiers Killed in Pressure Mine Blast (LANKA PUWATH, 23 Jun 87)	102
Mercenaries Train Army in Guerrilla War (Richard S. Ehrlich; NEW STRAITS TIMES, 2 Jun 87)	103

LTTE Bombs Railroad Culvert, Shells Buildings (LANKA PUWATH, 26 Jun 87)	105
--	-----

Briefs

Terrorists' Mortar Factory Bombed	106
Civilians Killed in Jaffna Bombing	106
Troops Attack 2 LTTE Bases	107
Jaffna Military Offensive	107
Terrorist Activity Report	107
Ship Arrives at Kankesanthurai	107
Indian Relief Goods Ship Arrives	108
Terrorist Activity Report	108
Hameed on Relations With India	108
28 Jun Terrorist Report	108
India's Role in Ethnic Problem	109

/7310

LIBYAN COMMENTARY SUPPORTING EGYPT'S REVOLUTION ORGANIZATION

Tripoli AL-ZAHF AL-AKHDAR in Arabic 1 Jun 87 p 11

[Text] In August 1985, Egypt's Revolution Organization liquidated one of the Zionist spies in the Egyptian capital. This occurred when some of the group's members opened fire on spy Albert Atrakchi in the suburb of Ma'adi.

In March 1986, the organization carried out another operation which targeted the Zionist presence in Egypt. In the Cairo international market, Zionist employees were fired upon by members of the Egypt's Revolution Organization which resulted in the death of one Zionist and the wounding of others.

The armed operations against the Zionist presence have not been limited to these incidents, rather, they have been expanded to include the American presence represented by the American intelligence elements in the Egyptian capital in addition to the operation carried out by the hero of Sinai, Sulayman Khatir, when he opened fire on a number of Zionists, which resulted in the death of seven Zionists and the wounding of another group.

In spite of the desperate attempts which have been made by the Egyptian regime to put an end to this organization which continues to disturb it and robs it of its sleep, all such attempts have met with complete failure as a result of the qualitative and quantitative development in the methods of carrying out armed operations against the Zionists and the Americans.

Last Wednesday, a diplomatic car belonging to the American Embassy in the Egyptian capital was fired upon, resulting in the wounding of American intelligence officers inside--namely, the director of embassy security and his aide.

Last Friday, 48 hours after this operation, an Egyptian police patrol was fired upon, resulting in the wounding of some members of the patrol.

Prior to these two incidents, on 5 May, there was an attempt to liquidate the late al-Sadat's Minister of the Interior Hasan Abu-Basha, which resulted in his being seriously wounded and necessitating his transfer outside of Egypt for medical treatment. Information from the Munich Hospital in West Germany indicated that Abu-Basha's condition was steadily deteriorating.

In addition to these operations, Egypt has witnessed several armed operations which were directed primarily at the Zionist and American presence and secondarily at institutions and symbols of the Egyptian regime.

Because all of the operations, disclosed or undisclosed, which have targeted Zionists and the Americans, have been carried out by Egypt's Revolution Organization, the regime tried to make one believe that foreign quarters are behind these incidents, in a desperate attempt to divert the attention of Egyptians away from the armed operations currently taking place inside Egypt and therefore, to distance the Egyptian Arab people from their political, economic and social concerns.

At a time when the popular opposition is developing its techniques, the military establishment is entering the picture. Its participation in the attempt to overthrow the regime multiplies the regime's problems and nullifies the regime's attempt to blame foreign quarters.

The attempts which are taking place inside the ranks of the armed forces and which have been uncovered and quelled are not external and have not taken place with foreign support as the regime claims but rather spring from the depths of the Egyptian army, thus proving the existence of popular and military opposition to the regime and its feeble policies.

In addition to the operations which the Egypt's Revolution Organization is carrying out against the Zionist and American presence in Egypt, military attempts which are uncovered from time to time are recurring, thus causing the anxiety of the regime to increase and causing it to live in fear of the final blow.

The armed operations which are carried out by Egypt's Revolution Organization have gotten to the point where they are causing the regime to be sleepless. These kinds of operations are continually increasing qualitatively and quantitatively, and which makes the regime's apparatus incapable of confronting the Egypt's Revolution Organization and its methods in the carrying out of the sudden armed operations targeting the Zionist and American presence. This is what the government newspaper AL-AHRAM revealed in its issues last Wednesday when it confirmed that two American diplomats, the embassy security director and his aide, did not even have enough time to use their firearms which they had with them. The newspaper confirmed that the diplomats were completely surprised by the sudden attack launched by those carrying out the operation.

Thus, the centers of the imminent danger to which the regime is exposed are increasing. Taking into consideration all of the possibilities, it appears that Egypt is embarking on a course of events whose results no one can foresee in spite of all the evidence indicating that all of those events are not in the regime's favor--rather they are targeting the regime and aim at the liberation of Egypt from the Zionist and American presence.

/9604

CSO: 4504/274

COMMENTARY DECRIES TERRORISM, ATTACK ON AL-MUSAWWAR EDITOR

Cairo AL-SIYASI in Arabic 7 Jun 87 p 7

[Commentary by 'Abd-al-Sattar al-Tawilah: "Terrorism Against the People?"]

[Text] What do the terrorists who aimed their bullets at the chest of our colleague, Mukrim Muhammad Ahmad, editor-in-chief of AL-MUSAWWAR, want?

Any child in politics would see that there is absolutely no justification for the use of violence by what is called "the political religious current." For the first time, this current has clear and practical legal channels for expressing its ideas. There are about 35 deputies who have entered parliament and are exercising the right of public oversight side by side with the deputies of the other parties. They also have many newspapers that express even their most extreme viewpoints. They carry on their missionary activities either in writing or in sermons in mosques. Indeed, as recently as the last 'Id al-Fitr, the government facilitated one of their objectives, namely holding 'Id al-Fitr prayers in public squares, the very same squares where they hold whatever religious demonstrations they wish, where they flex the muscles of "the Islamic Group" or "the Association of Muslims," and where they very frequently address large crowds. Even television programs...The government complied with their wish to delay the [Ramadan] riddles and cancel the showing of many films and serials, even though many educated people and opinion leaders objected to these concessions.

We still have the well-known article in the constitution which stipulates that Islamic shari'ah is the principal source of law. A public battle and debate is going on about the literal implementation of this provision. The members of the religious associations are playing their role clearly and without any restriction in this battle. They may win.

Then what do they want?

Why terrorism? Do they want to strike a blow against stability and democracy and force the government to take severe steps, such as dissolving parliament and ruling by the emergency laws?

Why terrorism against everyone? Why do their bullets hit ordinary citizens who have no connection with politics, with the implementation of Islamic or other law?

It was good that President Mubarak answered these questions that were raised at his last meeting with journalists on their annual celebration. He said it was clear the aim was to strike a blow against stability in Egypt, but that he would never allow democracy to be attacked and that there is no intention of taking any extraordinary or severe measures. Sovereignty belongs to the law alone.

Mubarak called on all writers and journalists to carry out their role of exposing the danger of terrorism to the Egyptian people itself and the need to mobilize the people against it.

When one of the journalists said that the aim of the terrorists was to turn Egypt into another Lebanon in the long run, the President asked, "Why 'in the long run'? The close succession of events demonstrates black intentions to hasten the destruction of stability."

The truth is that the terrorists aim at striking a blow against stability. They want to make the entire society submit to their ideas and political views by paralyzing the media in that society from expressing opposing ideas.

The attempt to assassinate Mukrim Muhammad Ahmad was an attempt to assassinate freedom of thought and expression. It was an attempt to make every writer and journalist in Egypt fear that the treacherous bullet is waiting for him. How farsighted the president was when he said that the intellectual who is afraid will also be hit by bullets!

The terrorists want to put society into one intellectual mould. But this one way of thinking will not last; they will struggle among themselves afterwards, as has been demonstrated by historical experience stretching back many centuries.

When the writers stood up to object to calling terrorist groups "extreme religious groups", and said that their terrorism has nothing to do with religion and that calling them "religious" is an injustice to religion, the president agreed to the objection. He said that religion has nothing to do with terrorism. Religion calls for dialogue and debate, with peaceful admonition. Currently, we have all the opportunities to carry on this dialogue and debate in complete freedom. Why violence and bullets?

The truth is that the title of Islam was bestowed upon these terrorist groups by the groups themselves. They are the ones who call themselves "the Islamic Association," "the Holy War Association," or even "the Association of Muslims." They are the ones who allege that their activities and principles are based on religion and its fundamental principles. Having declared the entire society "atheistic," because they consider it to have abandoned religion, they hold it permissible to take the property and lives of its members. To support their viewpoint, they rely on ancient historical experiences, Qur'anic verses, and prophetic traditions. Unfortunately, as

some of the writers said at the meeting, many leaders of religious opinion in our country appear on the television screen and in front of the microphone repeating many of these ideas. The contradictory conditions in the country, such as the closing of doors to young people, dashing their hopes for a living, a job, and marriage--these things prepare the ground and render it fertile for the growth of such desperate terrorist tendencies among young people whose sincere devotion to their country is not in doubt, but who are falling victim to error and to people who mislead.

12937

CSO: 4504/265

DECISION MADE TO ARM POLICE, REDUCE SECURITY FORCES

Cairo AL-WAFD in Arabic 10 Jun 87 pp 1, 11

[Article by 'Abd-al-Nabi 'Abd-al-Sattar: "Interior Ministry Decides To Rely on Police Agents To Restore Order to the Street, Arming Police With Revolvers To Confront Phenomenon of Assassinations, Reduction of Central Security Forces"]

[Text] The Interior Ministry has decided to arm all police agents with revolvers and to reject all the resignations they have tendered. It has decided that the agents are to return to providing services in the public squares and main streets in order to confront the phenomenon of the assassinations that have proliferated recently. Maj Gen Zaki Badr, minister of the interior, issued emphatic instructions to Maj Gen 'Ali Wali, director of the Police Institute, concerning the need to change the systems of training at the institute and to pay attention to training in marksmanship. The minister asked for rapid completion of the target practice field now under construction in the Turah area. The minister is expected to open it at the end of this July. Contacts are now under way between the Interior Ministry and all security districts in the various provinces to arrange a meeting between Maj Gen Zaki Badr and representatives of all police agents in Egypt, who number about 27,000. AL-WAFD has learned that the Interior Ministry has decided to hold training sessions on a continual basis for agents who have graduated at the Advanced Institute for Field Marksmanship in al-'Abbasiyah. AL-WAFD has learned that the Interior Ministry has decided to rely completely on police agents, after deciding to reduce the size of the central security forces from 320,000 soldiers to 280,000 at the end of this year. It has also decided to reduce the funding earmarked for central security by about 10 million Egyptian pounds. The policy of relying on the central security forces to protect the domestic front, embassies, consulates, banks, and public figures has proved to be a failure. The Interior Ministry also decided to pay attention to the kind of soldiers drafted for the central security force and to rely on holders of adequate credentials.

12937

CSO: 4504/265

BRIEFS

NASSERISTS ORGANIZE--The recent wave of arrests following the assassination attempts against Maj Gen Hasan Abu Basha, the U.S. Embassy diplomats, and Makram Muhammad Ahmad (chairman of the board of Dar al-Hilal and editor in chief of AL-MUSAWWAR) included Nasserist elements who were accused of establishing a Nasserist party and some of whom were accused of being involved in the assassination attempt on the three American diplomats. Sources of the Nasserist Arab Socialist Party asserted that it was not true that those arrested were accused of belonging to a secret armed organization, and they pointed out that the arrests were carried out under the emergency law. It is common knowledge that the Nasserist party held its first organizational meeting in February after the National Progressive Unionist Grouping Party [NPUG] agreed to take it in under the NPUG umbrella. At the time it was said that the leadership of the party had received approval to hold a convention from Maj Gen Zaki Badr, interior minister, and also from Dr Rif'at al-Mahjub, but that security officials said that they had confiscated weapons and explosives from one of the suspects. It was being said in Cairo that the Egypt's Revolution group, which claimed responsibility for the assassination attempt on the American diplomats, had been raising Nasserist slogans. [Text]
[London AL-HAWADITH in Arabic 12 Jun 87 pp 10-11] /6662

CSO: 4504/273

VARIOUS ASPECTS OF SPECIAL FORCES TRAINING REVIEWED

Baghdad AL-THAWRAH in Arabic 20 May 87 p 6

[Article by Sa'ib 'Abd-al-Muhsin: "A Visit to the Special Forces School: Sacrifice, Self-Denial, Glory -- The Slogan of the Men of Difficult Missions"]

[Text] The facts of the battles our heroic armed forces, of all corps, have fought have established the genuine mettle of the men of the special forces, since the president and commander, Saddam Husayn, has described them as "the men of difficult missions." The honor of this designation has become a slogan embellishing the columns in their school and the training fields.

These men embodied the honor of this designation in the arenas of clamor as they gave the gnomes of Iran a bitter lesson in defeat and disappointment in the course of the battles they have decided through the precision of their performance and the speed of movement by which they are distinguished, alongside patience, faith in the principles they embrace and their love of their precious nation and the builder of its glory, the president and commander Saddam Husayn.

Sacrifice, self-denial, glory: these men keep repeating this as we approach them. These are words of great love, sacrifice and self-denial on behalf of the principles and good land which sired these heroes. Where shall we begin in talking about these heroes? How shall we describe their acts and exploits? No matter what words one might bring together, one sees them standing in bewilderment before their action, potency and competence.

First Steps in the Establishment

We found it appropriate to learn about the first steps in the establishment of this corps and the stages of development it witnessed in the context of the glorious revolution and the wise leadership of the president and commander, Saddam Husayn. We went to the combatant director of the special forces corps and met him there, and this conversation took place. The fighting man 'Isamat, director of the special forces corps, said "The corps was established on 28 March 1956 with an elite of officers and noncommissioned officers who were sent to the United Kingdom for training there, and the first

independent company was formed on that date, which has been considered Corps Day. In 1957, the first paratroop corps was established, composed of the paratroopers' company and the training wing. In 1959, the paratroop corps was transferred to the first paratroop regiment and the paratroopers' school.

"The second paratroop regiment was formed in 1963 and commando courses were initiated in 1964. In 1965 the first commando regiment was formed, followed by the second commando regiment in 1968, then the formation of a brigade called the paratroop brigade.

"After the blessed revolution, the glorious revolution of 17-30 July 1968, burst forth, the command of the party and revolution devoted special attention to this corps and supported it materially and materially, and followup in the field on the part of the president and commander, Saddam Husayn, and First Staff Lt Col 'Adnan Khayrallah, deputy commander general of the armed forces and minister of defense, has been continuous.

"The special forces corps was formed in 1972 after the merger of the two paratroop and commando corps into a single corps."

Formation of a Special Department

The fighting man director of the corps said, "In 1976 the special forces department and three battalions of integrated divisions were formed. A review was made on arming the special units and formations.

"The corps was organized in a manner which would be harmonious with the nationalist goals of the party, the introduction of new subjects into the style and preparation of fighting men and their training in accordance with modern methods in tolerating the harshest combat circumstances. The department has the most modern technique which can be used in executing the tactical and strategic duties of the special forces which take place in coordination with the air force, air defense and army air commands."

Speed of Decision

The fighting man 'Ismat Sabir asserted "The president and commander, Saddam Husayn, gave the designation 'men of difficult missions' to the special forces, after he learned of the battles the corps' officers and ranks had engaged in and learned about the speed of decision in harsh times by which this corps is distinguished in difficult circumstances day and night, in winter and summer, in all seasons and climatic conditions, and all times. Therefore, his excellency has honored us with this great designation."

The Special Forces School

In the department there is a school, named the special forces school, whose commander, the fighting man Suhayl 'Adil, talked about the privileges granted to new volunteers and ways of joining this corps. He said that there is a grant from the president and commander, Saddam Husayn, which is given in two instalments, the amount of each of which is 500 dinars. Volunteers who join

receive it upon volunteering and upon graduating, and in addition his excellency generously gives priority to the special forces corps by granting them sedans and plots of residential land in addition to the corps salary, which comes to 60 dinars on top of the salary given to volunteers.

We then met with the fighting man Thamir Ahmad, the political guidance officer in the special forces department, who said, "Our main duty at the present stage is part of our main activity to encourage enrollment in this corps, since special seminars have been held with the participation of the mass organizations and the youth centers to explain the missions and privileges of this corps, in addition to the printing of posters which praise the heroic actions of the corps which have been distributed to all youth centers, schools, institutes and faculties in coordination with the political guidance department, as well as the followup of the printed, visual and aural media departments and the holding of central seminars and lectures which deal with the speeches and talks of the president and commander, Saddam Husayn, the solution of problems which might befall fighting men, the followup of their affairs in the government departments, the guarantee of the conveyance of the printed materials to the last point in the forward lines and constant visits to them."

After that, the fighting man Ghazi Yahya, the political guidance officer in the school, spoke to us. He said, "Political guidance, through serious, urgent plans, is aimed at carrying out the directives of the president and commander, Saddam Husayn, in creating political awareness and the ability to analyze the events through which our fighting country in particular and the Arab nation and the world in general are passing on the part of all fighting men, preparing them intellectually and psychologically and fortifying them with the revolutionary values and morals which our party, the Arab Socialist Ba'th Party, has advocated. Political guidance gives cultural lectures and acquaints the fighting men with the events of the hour taking place in the world."

Wings of the School

The school contains a number of wings, and each wing has its own ways and means for preparing valiant fighting men. The wing where we are now, which is considered the first stage for preparing fighting men in the special forces school, is the commando wing. Its commander, the fighting man Samir Tawfiq, said of it "The process of training in this wing takes place in accordance with three stages, basic training, advanced training and specialized training. In them, the fighting men receive theoretical lessons in tactics, planning and military engineering, other lectures and practical training which includes training in self-confidence, leaping from slide pulleys and free jumps from high altitudes into water, in addition to endurance marches to prepare the fighting men for the advanced training period, in which the fighting men receive training and courses outside school headquarters and in camps drawn up for this purpose. As for specialized training, this includes mountain training and mountain patrols. The training is in artificial locations in the school and trips to a mountainous area for practical application."

The fighting man Sabah Na'im spoke, stating, "this is considered one of the main wings in the school and its duty is to prepare platoon officers and

commanders and company commanders to lead their platoons and companies in the proper manner, especially in combat. In addition, the wing is assigned to prepare basic and advanced reconnaissance courses and confidence courses for qualified officers on guard, navigation courses for noncommissioned officers and courses for squad leaders which are aimed at educating the people taking part in them in methods for commanding squads and platoons in combat. This wing carries out training at the platoon and company level in all areas of combat and exercises in air assault in helicopters with live materiel. This department has also participated in introducing modern tactics courses in accordance with the demands of the glorious battle of Saddam's Qadisiyah, since most of the officers teaching in this wing have taken part in glorious, holy combat and have passed on their expertise in the present training.

Teaching Parachuting

The fighting man Majid Husayn asserted, "In the school fighting men have been received to teach parachute command methods and methods of jumping from planes from various altitudes, giving the fighting man high self-confidence, valor and initiative, which has been embodied in tangible action in the battles the battalions of our heroic armed forces have waged. The fighting men train on jumping ladders at increasing altitudes after completing ground training and after those they move over to airplanes, where trainees are prepared for basic parachute courses and courses of teachers for all the areas of specialization assigned to us."

The fighting man Yunus Muhammad said that the corps activity is embodied in preparing all basic requirements for people applying for admission to this corps and preparing booklets bearing on instructions for volunteer activity in the corps in accordance with the requisite conditions and the preparation of arms and equipment and all services which cannot be dispensed with which will have the effect, alongside the corps' other areas of specialization and duties, of helping to prepare brave fighting men who are able to fight and inflict grievous losses of men and materiel on the enemies.

11887

CSO: 4404/404

'OMETZ-LIKUD MERGER PROPOSAL SPARKS CRITICISM

Jerusalem THE JERUSALEM POST in English 2 Jun 87 p 2

[Article by Menachem Shalev]

[Text]

Members of both Labour and Likud united yesterday in blasting the Likud leadership's proposal to Minister Yigal Hurvitz's "Ometz" party to join the Likud list for the upcoming elections.

The proposal, formulated by Industry and Trade Minister Ariel Sharon, would earmark two - or possibly three - realistic Knesset seats for Ometz: the Likud's sixth slot, which would presumably go to Hurvitz; an additional place between the 20th and 30th Likud slot, which would presumably go to Zalman Shoval; and a third place in the Likud 40's, on the fringes of the party's realistic expectations.

Likud MKs, in a rebellious mood, blasted the proposal at a meeting of the party's Knesset faction executive. MK Uriel Lynn said that the Likud "should not purchase the allegiance of those who are not always loyal to the Likud at the expense of those whose loyalty is consistent."

MK Miriam Gilazer-Tassa said last night that although she "understands the dictates of *Realpolitik*, we could not go overboard. Hurvitz

has a lot of sympathy in the country, but we don't need his 'trail' (Shoval in Hebrew).

Labour Secretary-General Uzi Baram also castigated Hurvitz, saying that this self-styled "man of principles" had sold his allegiance for a single Knesset seat. Baram said that negotiations between Labour and Ometz had failed last year because Labour could not promise Hurvitz a second realistic Knesset seat.

Labour sources also said that Hurvitz's potential alliance with the Likud was "morally wrong" because he had joined the national unity cabinet on Labour's allotment.

Shoval, chairman of Ometz's executive, rebuffed Labour's attacks, saying last night that the proposed merger between the two had failed because of policy differences. Shoval also said that Ometz's 1984 alliance with Labour had allowed Shimon Peres to be the first prime minister in the national unity cabinet, and that Labour's calls for Hurvitz's resignation were "arrogant."

Shoval said that Ometz has an

"iron-clad" electorate of 25,000 votes, and thus the allotment of two safe Knesset spots was totally justified.

Hurvitz told Israel Television last night that his merger with the Likud would prevent early elections and thus strengthen the economy.

If the Likud-Ometz agreement is ultimately ratified by both parties' institutions, the Likud will be hard pressed to reach a similar arrangement with MK Aharon Abuhatzeira, who might then decide to join Labour's drive for early elections, edging it closer to the needed Knesset majority.

Labour yesterday confirmed that it had postponed the meeting of its convention, originally scheduled for June 25. Party spokesman said that the meeting had been scheduled too early for party regional branches to hold their own conventions. But party sources said that Labour's leadership is concerned about a possible motion by the convention for a unilateral Labour abandonment of the coalition.

/9274

CSO: 4400/223

ISRAEL'S PRESENCE IN SECURITY ZONE DEPICTED

Jerusalem THE JERUSALEM POST in English 29 May 87 (Magazine) pp 4-5

[Article by David Rudge]

[Text]

"I OWE my life to the existence of this hospital and the treatment I received," declared the Shi'ite patient as he lay stretched out on his bed in the Marjayoun hospital inside the Security Zone in South Lebanon.

"There is no other hospital in the region with these facilities. I was brought here in the nick of time. Had there been any delay, I would most probably have died," he added.

The man, who gave his name as Mohammed, was recuperating after successfully undergoing an emergency operation for acute appendicitis. The 37-year-old father of three said he hailed from a small Shi'ite settlement near the village of Huleh, less than 20 kilometres from the predominantly Christian township of Marjayoun and the Israeli-backed hospital there.

Mohammed's wife hovered anxiously by his bedside as he answered questions about relations between the zone's Christian, Druse and Shi'ite residents and Israel.

"I see Israelis as my friends, regardless of what other Shi'ites north of the zone might think and do," said Mohammed, speaking through an interpreter. "The treatment I have received here has only served to strengthen my views. I regard those who try to force me to do something as my enemies. Israel has only helped me and I am very grateful."

Mohammed's comments were echoed by a 63-year-old Druse dig-

nitary, suffering from back pains, who had driven in from his village, Hasbiyeh, for a check-up. Like other patients interviewed during a brief visit to Marjayoun last week, he had nothing but praise for the hospital, its staff and the Israeli authorities who provided the wherewithal to run it.

The hospital, on a hilltop facing the distant peaks of Mt. Hermon still pock-marked with patches of snow, is one of several projects supported by Israeli funds and know-how which have been initiated inside the Security Zone for the benefit of the region's 200,000 residents.

It is also an indication of the depth of Israel's involvement in local affairs - for tactical as well as humanitarian reasons - two years after the IDF's withdrawal from the rest of South Lebanon.

During that period, the Security Zone and the IDF's continued presence have become recognized as the accepted norm. In the process, there has also been a gradual but inexorable change in the attitude of the civilian populace towards Israel. An increasing number of residents are coming to regard Israel not only as the most dominant force, but the "de facto" authority for the area.

This psychological shift in thinking is due to a combination of factors, including the collapse of the Lebanese government and the deteriorating economic situation.

The central government continues

to inject some funds into the region, in the form of subsidies on basic commodities and the payment of wages and pensions to civil servants, retired workers, army veterans and so forth.

Money for the provision and upkeep of services, however, including roads, health care, development projects and public works, is almost non-existent. The Security Zone has, in effect, become an independent canton, having to rely on its own means for services previously funded by the Lebanese government.

Under such circumstances, it is small wonder that community leaders are looking to Israel to fill the breach, as orphans would to surrogate parents.

LATELY, THE requests for aid on a wide variety of matters, ranging from establishing new water sources to the development of light industry, have been mounting.

The pleas have placed the Israeli authorities in something of a dilemma. On the one hand, Israel with the memory of the Lebanon war still fresh, has no desire to become too involved in civilian matters and thereby run the risk of being accused of annexing part of Lebanon. Politicians from all sides of the spectrum have made it abundantly clear on numerous occasions that Israel claims not even one centimetre of Lebanese territory.

On the other hand, the Security Zone is seen as an essential aspect in

the overall strategy of trying to ensure the security of Israel's northern settlements.

Common sense, therefore, dictates the necessity of catering to at least the essential needs of the local inhabitants in an effort to win their goodwill, if not outright respect.

"It was inevitable for somebody to care for the basic needs of the indigenous population and keep them happy and not subversive," said an Israeli observer. He noted that the last thing Israel needed was hostile elements or terrorist collaborators among local residents of the zone.

Providing some assistance and showing the practical benefits of liaison with Israel was one way of keeping the residents content.

The alternative would be to do nothing. But that would probably mean increasing the number of soldiers to control rebellious factions within the zone as well as to fight those outside its borders.

There are also humanitarian considerations for residents of a region which is designed to bear the brunt of terrorist activities, as well as moral obligations to the families of the 2,700 troops serving with the South Lebanese Army and the soldiers themselves.

ISRAEL'S response to repeated requests for more civilian aid has been financially modest, but significant. The Marjayoun hospital is a case in point. It was originally established in 1964 and for 12 years operated as a small but efficient general hospital with 50 beds.

Then came the civil war and many doctors fled the region, leaving the hospital without sufficient staff to provide much more than first aid. Patients requiring hospitalization were directed to Beirut or Sidon where they were lucky to be admitted at all - and then only if they could afford the high fees.

It was at this time, with tentative relations developing between Israel and Major Sa'ad Haddad's South Lebanese Christian militia, that appeals were made to allow patients to be treated at Israeli hospitals. The Good Fence border crossing was opened at Metulla. Ambulances were provided at the checkpoint and later a small clinic was established.

It was a natural extension to further help the local inhabitants by bringing in Israeli doctors to man the

all-but-disused hospital in Marjayoun. At that time, very few patients were hospitalized as the Israelis did not stay overnight.

At the beginning of the Lebanon war in June 1982, the decision was taken to try and run the hospital properly. The local staff who had stayed behind were reluctant, however, to cooperate with the Israelis until they were sure which way the wind was blowing. They continued to receive their salaries from Beirut, but stayed home.

The situation changed during 1984, when residents recognized that the Security Zone had become an irreversible fact. At the same time, thousands of people, mostly Christians, poured into the Security Zone to escape fighting further north. Among the newcomers were many doctors, including several who had earlier fled the civil strife in the south.

There were enough doctors and nurses to fully staff the hospital, but the building itself proved too small to meet the population's burgeoning health needs, especially in the maternity department.

An average of 30 patients a month were still being transferred for treatment to hospitals in Israel, at considerable expense to the Israeli taxpayer.

The Israeli authorities, in conjunction with the Christian-backed Middle East Television (MET), decided on an ambitious project to expand the hospital, improve facilities and raise the standard of treatment. MET raised \$500,000, mainly in America, towards the construction of a new wing with an extra 20 beds, while Israel pumped in \$2 million for equipment, medicines, staff wages and general upkeep.

Today the hospital is equipped with some of the most sophisticated equipment available and provides a wide range of medical services. The 180-strong work-force, including 35 doctors, are all Lebanese who liaise with Israeli technical advisers.

The hospital also has begun handling more complex surgical cases. In one recent case, doctors performed a complicated artery transplant on a SLA soldier suffering from serious leg wounds as a result of an ambush by Hizbullah gunmen. The soldier made a full recovery and subsequently returned to his unit.

Patients treated at Marjayoun hospital are required to pay only a nominal fee. Nevertheless, Israeli sources maintain that, in the long term, funding the hospital was cheaper than subsidizing the travel and hospitalization costs of Lebanese patients treated in Israel.

"The existence of the hospital on their doorstep gives the residents a sense of normalcy in their daily lives," said Dr. Arie, an Israeli adviser at the hospital. "The aim is to assist the civilian population. In return we receive more cooperation and greater understanding," he added.

Medical director Dr. H. Mady, a qualified urologist, said the hospital was now treating up to 200 cases a week, although the majority did not require overnight stays. "We even get patients from outside the Security Zone, from as far north as Beirut," he said. "They come here because of the facilities and because medical care elsewhere is very expensive."

"The hospital fulfils a vital function in the region. People are very aware of what Israel has done for them and there is a great deal of appreciation," he added.

The success of the Marjayoun project has prompted Israeli authorities to try and develop another hospital in the predominantly Shi'ite populated region in the central sector of the Security Zone.

At present, the building is used both as a general and a dental clinic, with 15 maternity beds. The plan is to gradually enlarge the premises and build up facilities. The fact that local Shi'ite doctors and nurses have already agreed to staff the new hospital is a major breakthrough.

MEDICAL CARE is only one of the manifestations of Israeli aid to residents of the Security Zone. Along the coast, near the village of Nakura, the finishing touches are being put to a new port.

The compact, but highly efficient artificial harbour, is known locally by the name of the IDF major who designed and supervised its construction. Original estimates for the job, supplied by Israeli contractors, ranged from \$1.5 million to \$13 million and was scheduled to take three years. The IDF major and his all-Lebanese work-force completed

the task in less than half that time, at a cost of only \$350,000 which was provided by SLA commander Gen. Antoine Lahad.

The port, with its 170-metre-long jetty, can accommodate ships varying in size from 1,500 tons to 3,500 tons which, although small, are sufficient to meet the import and export needs of Security Zone residents.

Its importance, in helping to make the Security Zone self-sufficient, cannot be stressed too much. The port also ensures safe and direct passage, by regular ferry boat, for Christian residents to and from Beirut. In the past, they either had to travel across country, through regions controlled by various warring factions, or go by way of an Israeli port or airport.

Israeli exports to the Security Zone, via the Nakura port, totalled over \$3 million last year. The figure is expected to rise even higher this year. However, the bulk of the trade is between the zone and Beirut, with local farmers shipping their agricultural products north, and importing mainly consumer products and construction materials from the Lebanese capital.

At a later stage, petrol and diesel storage tanks are slated to be built alongside the wharf.

In other fields, too, Israel is helping residents of the zone, including advice on more efficient and economic crop cultivation and livestock breeding.

More than 900 residents of the zone cross the border each day, as they have for several years, to work in fields, factories, hotels, restaurants and forests. Wages and conditions are excellent by Lebanese standards, despite the fact that the migrant workers normally perform the low-paid, menial tasks scorned by Israelis.

ALTOGETHER the Defence Ministry allocates \$3 million a year for civilian projects in the Security Zone. The bulk of the money in the past has been spent on developing and expanding medical facilities at Marjayoun hospital and on the new hospital project.

Ostensibly, Israeli authorities are trying to encourage the local inhabitants to run their own affairs, independent of Israeli aid. Regional council committees have been established throughout the zone to act as coordinators between the military and the civilian population.

Such ideas sound fine in theory. The reality is somewhat different. Taxes, even on a local basis, are completely alien to the Lebanese mentality and way of life. Hence, there are no municipalities as such and no funds for public works projects. In the past financing for such development was channelled from the central government.

As this source of funding has dried up, virtually no maintenance or new development work has been carried out for the past few years. The

evidence of this neglect is apparent in the poor roads, full of pot-holes and lacking proper surfaces, which have been pounded to pieces by passing military traffic.

Water and sewerage systems, electricity and telephone lines, with the exception of those installed by the IDF, are in an equally dilapidated state.

Road improvements are now under way, judging by the piles of bulldozed earth alongside certain "main highways."

It would cost huge sums to renovate all the roads inside the Security Zone and bring them up to even minimum standards. Yet it is for these and numerous other projects that leaders of the ethnic communities in the zone are now requesting increased aid from Israel.

Israel may well have to accede to some of the appeals, albeit in greatly modified versions, including the possibility of encouraging private investors to set up small businesses "across the border."

"We are not going to initiate grand development plans, but where it comes to matters of health, roads, electricity generation and supply, and employment, I think we will have to help," said an Israeli source.

"We have to weigh the costs and the advantages against the alternatives. However, I don't think we will have any choice but to increase our support for the civilian population," he added. □

/9274

CSO: 4400/223

DAVAR COMMENTARY ON WEST BANK LAND DEVELOPMENT

TA281056 Tel Aviv DAVAR in Hebrew 28 Jun 87 p 7

[Commentary by Dani Rubinstein; "Land and Nationalist Struggles"]

[Text] Construction activities in Judaea and Samaria and East Jerusalem have completely altered the regional scenery. Construction and settlement on the land is being viewed as nationalist rivalry between Jews and Arabs and is becoming fiercer as the years go by. Looking backward it is somewhat of a surprise to discover that for more than a decade after 1967 there was almost no fighting in this field between Jews and Arabs, or between the administration and the population.

Nevertheless, throughout that period there definitely was awareness of the question of construction in the West Bank. During the first 4 years (1967-1971), the processes of planning construction and licensing procedures for construction were uncontrolled and disorganized. The truth is that there was almost no construction in the territories over those years. The Arabs did not have money and only isolated Israeli settlements were established (isolated settlements in the Jordan Rift Valley as well as the settlements of Gush 'Ezyon and Qiryat Arba'). Construction in Judaea and Samaria was carried out in accordance with a Jordanian law from 1966, which is a fairly simplistic law lacking in details. This law takes almost no account of environmental quality issues.

In fact, the Jordanian law was altered only in 1971, by a military order that set up planning authorities and stated that granting construction would only be within the authority of local and district committees. According to this order, a supreme planning council was established and it had a planning office. Only representatives of the Israeli Administration (that is, Jews) are members of the council and, from the aspect of its authority, it can intervene in all Arab construction activity in towns and villages. In theory, the Arabs' share in the physical planning of the West Bank is almost nil. However, in practice the council does not take advantage of all its authority. In the Arab towns, the local committees (of the municipalities) approve the building requests, almost without the council's intervention. The planning council is required only for the question of building in towns when public buildings are in question. In contrast to this, the planning council -- with its various branches -- does take a share in everything connected with building in the rural sector, in which live two-thirds of the Arab inhabitants of Judaea and Samaria live.

Israeli policy on building in the territories only changed with the consolidation of the Likud government toward the end of the 1970's. The administration in the territories began to initiate planning projects together with the development of existing projects. In other words, the administrative permitted the Arabs to build as they wished within the municipal spheres (naturally, according to the local planning), while Israeli intervention in the rural areas began to increase.

Architect Shlomo Hayyat from Jerusalem, who was formerly head of the planning office and is a senior and reliable professional and has great experience and information involving Arab building, says that, in principle, of course there was a need, which still exists, for large-scale and modern planning in the territories. However, such planning, which means construction restrictions, is very hard to implement in the territories. A considerable section of the Arab public has a traditional nature and is unaware of the need for modern community planning.

To clarify the issue let us, for a moment, ignore the political issues; ignore the question of land and that of the nationalist interests and nationalist struggles. Let us ignore the enormous building drive, both in the settlements and in Arab construction, and let us ignore the complications of the various contour plans. We will not take into account the fact that most of the Arab construction is private and most of the Jewish construction is state or public.

To clarify the topic before us we will try to make a comparison between two groups of people in the West Bank. Both of them are getting organized to build a new neighborhood. One group is composed of Israelis who want to construct a settlement or a new residential district, and the second group is composed of Arabs who have organized to build together (there has been such organization, among Arab teachers, doctors, municipal employees etc). The Arab group has appeared before the planning authorities and submitted a proposal. The first demand is that they are asked to prove they are the owners of that plot of land. No such request is made of the Israelis; a military order has declared the area to be "state land" after Pli'a Albeck from the Justice Ministry checked the data. This is a particularly hard obstacle for the Arabs, because of the complicated matter of ownership of land in the territories, most of which is disorganized. But let us assume the Arabs have overcome it and brought certificates and proved their ownership.

Now the planning authorities begin to ask questions: Where is the access road to the area? Land has been requisitioned for the Jews in accordance with a law enabling requisition for "public purposes," so an access road can be built. For the Arabs -- no. What is done? Well, we will assume the Arabs have also overcome this and purchased plots of land to prepare an access road. The questions continue: What about drainage? Internal roads? Garbage disposal? For the Jews these questions are resolved by the Housing Ministry or the Jewish Agency. The Arabs begin to get busy. In order to

solve the problem, they suggest: We will make absorbent cisterns. The administration does not approve: that could pollute the subterranean water. The Arabs announce that they will take the refuse out to the neighboring town's garbage dump -- that of Tulkarm or Bayt Jalah, for example -- and the administration discloses that the dump there is working without a license. And so it goes.

Let us for a moment assume that the Arabs also overcome all these problems and the planning authorities approve everything. There is an entire construction-infrastructure annex; approvals and plans for water, drainage, garbage, electricity, and road networks. Everything is in order. Now the Arabs ask: "Give us the licenses to build the houses." Even at this stage the administration refuses, saying: "First build the infrastructure. We want to see how you have planned the roads and drainage and all the other infrastructure details, because we do not know whether you will do this at all."

In brief, law and planning are wonderfully arranged and organized; they are constructed in such a way that only Israelis can stand up to them. The group of Israelis comes along with plans an infrastructure prepared by the government ministries in Israel. Behind every group of Israelis, large or small, that builds in the territories, there are bodies that locate the land and invest a great deal of money. These bodies are national ones (the Ministry of Construction and Housing or the Jewish Agency Settlement Department) or "public" ones, the settlement movements, Gush Emunim. The Arabs have almost no state or public body to support them and organize them in a similar fashion. And even if they are given aid, overt or covert, by the joint Jordanian-PLO committee and other bodies, building in the modern format (like the Israelis) is simply out of the question for them.

I gave this example to show that planning construction in Judaea and Samaria works for the benefit of Israelis and against Arabs. There is no doubt that modern planning requirements demand order and precision detailing; but in this case, even without a planned policy of discrimination and injustice, Arab construction is finding itself to be in more and more of a trap. In previous years, Arab construction had peak periods, but its situation is apparently becoming increasingly worse.

/12624
CSO: 4400/231

TREND TOWARD SECULARISM IN JAIFA

Jerusalem THE JERUSALEM POST in English 7 Jun 87 p 2

[Article by Ya'Acov Friedler]

[Text]

HAIFA. - The city's agreement to preserve the status quo on religious issues is being eroded, with religious parties in the municipal coalition threatening to bring the matter before the government.

Most of the cafes and restaurants in the new pedestrian mall in Rehov Nordau yesterday put their tables and chairs out in the early afternoon, several hours before the end of the Sabbath - contrary to a City Hall request that they refrain from doing so. For several weeks the owners honoured the request, which had been made following demonstrations by religious residents, but now they are protesting that it is hurting business.

A city by-law specifically exempts "eating places" from mandatory Sabbath closure. But the religious parties argued that extending businesses into the street violated the regulation and constituted public Sabbath desecration. The desecration particularly annoyed many religious residents who live in the vicinity.

Meanwhile, the Stella Maris scenic

cableway is operating on the Sabbath and Friday night films are continuing, over the objections of the religious parties.

"The status quo has undoubtedly been eroded. This particularly needles Haifa's moderate religious establishment, because they have always acquiesced in public transportation on the Sabbath on the understanding that no additional public Sabbath desecration be permitted," a non-religious municipal source told *The Jerusalem Post*.

The religious parties here are busy carrying out an internal rotation agreement on the city council and choosing a successor to the late religious vice-mayor Eliezer Alter. When they finish with this business, they intend taking the fight all the way to the government where the two large parties are now "more amenable" to pressure from the religious parties.

The only city-owned public transportation in Haifa, the Carmelit subway, which for 30 years did not run on Saturdays, has been closed since December for extensive repairs and renovation and is not expected to reopen for another 18 months.

/9274

CSO 400/223

ARAB EDUCATION IN ISRAEL CRITICIZED

Tel Aviv NEW OUTLOOK in English No 4, Apr 87 pp 14-15

[Article by Dr Majid al-Haji, member of the sociology department at Haifa University and chairman of the Control Committee for Arab Education]

[Text]

Adapted from an address delivered in Jerusalem on December 17, 1986, at a meeting of the Jewish-Arab Council for Peace Education, the following article is a critique of the current state of the system of Arab education in Israel.

When we speak of Arab education, we are referring to a matter of the highest priority to the Arabs of Israel. The last decade was characterized by the struggle for land, but the next one will be characterized by the struggle for Arab education. Every fifth student in Israel is an Arab, and every third Arab is a student. Today, there are 230,000 Arab students in the Israeli educational system. The youthful composition of the Arab population raises the relative proportion of Arab students in the population as a whole.

While most of the responsibility for the well-being of the Arab educational system falls on the Ministry of Education, other groups should be mobilized to further Arab education. These include the Ministry of Labor and Welfare, particularly in the field of youth work; Histadrut institutions, in the field of vocational education; teachers' organizations; Arab local councils; Arab teachers; and the students' parents.

Compared to Whom?

We Arabs are well acquainted with the saying: "If I am not for myself, who

is for me?" We make great demands on ourselves in order to improve Arab education, but we cannot see any serious effort to advance it on the part of government offices — including the Ministry of Education — despite their expressed understanding of the subject.

Though there have been important quantitative and qualitative achievements in Arab education, especially from 1981 to 1984, these are overshadowed by current needs. Our aim is to advance toward equality, because there is a huge gap between conditions in the Jewish sector and those in the Arab sector. It should be clear that our reference group is the Jewish sector, and it is to Israel's credit that comparisons are made between us and the Israeli Jewish sector, not some other group in the region. Still, much remains to be done in order to narrow the gap between the conditions that exist and those that are desirable. This is essential if Israeli Arabs are to feel integrated into Israeli society.

In the last few years, a number of committees have been established to look into Arab education, including the

Control Committee for Arab Education, which was set up after the Arab Educational Conference of 1984, and the Director General's Conference for the Investigation of Educational Alternatives. Both committees have reported on the same serious problems. What is missing is the implementation of the recommendations in order to solve the problems and make progress.

The Situation

Lack of construction is the most painful problem. Today the Arab sector lacks 1,400 classrooms, as well as other facilities. The Ministry of Education estimates that 2,000 rooms are needed to expand vocational education and pre-compulsory kindergartens. Many of the classrooms in the Arab sector are substandard, not meeting even minimal conditions. Many were formerly shops, chicken coops, or stables that were turned into classrooms for lack of an alternative.

Although 540 classrooms have been built in the Arab sector in the last few years, this progress has been overshadowed by the high natural increase of the Arab population and the budget freeze that has been in effect for the last two years.

Last year Mifal Hapayis (Israel's national lottery — *ed.*) built 540 classrooms for the Ministry of Education, but only 52 of them — less than 10 percent — were given to the Arab sector.

The average number of students per class in the Arab sector is 31.2, compared to 26.3 in the Jewish sector. The number of students per teacher in the Arab sector is 1.5 times greater than the number of students per teacher in the Jewish sector.

The Ministry of Education's report ascertains that in order to carry out instruction in the Arab sector under the same conditions that prevail in the Jewish sector, it will be necessary to add 4,000 teaching positions.

Special instruction is another serious problem. Most of the students in Arab schools who need special instruction are in regular classes, since there are very few advanced classes in the Arab sector.

Psychological services are extremely primitive. There is only one psychological aid station — in Nazareth. In response to the Ministry of Education's excuse that there are no available educational psychologists in the Arab sector, the Control Committee for Arab Education sent the Director General of the Ministry a letter containing the names of eight Arab psychologists with master's degrees or doctorates who are capable of directing psychological aid stations. The list has yet to be acted upon.

Many of the high schools in the Arab sector were established only recently, and started out on a very low level. The Control Committee has reached an agreement with the Ministry of Education on raising the level in high schools having particularly low service levels. After that, the medium-level schools should be advanced. Frozen budgets must be released for a specified period of time in order to make these changes.

According to recent statistics, only 20 percent of Arab high school students are in vocational courses of study, as opposed to 60 percent in the Jewish sector. Moreover, the courses offered the Arab students are on a low level, and few of them lead to a matriculation certificate.

The Ministry of Education's report adds: "Arab education is not always included, or is not included at the same time, in the innovations that take place in Jewish education as far as study programs, textbooks, and instruction methods are concerned. Many of the study programs now being used were worked out many years ago, and not all of them were adapted to the changing conditions in education and in Arab society's way of life."

Undermining the Teacher

From the start there has been a tendency to empty Arab education of its national-cultural content. Yet this is the focal point of Jewish education. Arab schools today lag far behind Arab society as a whole. While the Arab sector has undergone a process of liberalization and accelerated modernization, Arab schools continue to be conservative and do not assimilate change.

The tendency to deter Arab students from discussing political and social problems only weakens the students' confidence in their teachers. One Arab educator said, "Our students consider us cowards, because we avoid discussions of current national problems."

Schools are not isolated from society. Students receive information on national questions from various sources, sources that are not always in accord with the educational process. Ignoring the subject poses a threat to Israeli society.

The Director General's 1983 circular contains directives calling on Arab teachers to deal with national-cultural problems. This is not enough. It is imperative to include educational discussions on current national and cultural problems in the study program. Arab teachers and educators must take the initiative and actively participate in bringing about change. Anyone who does not participate in the process is likely to discover that he has already become its victim.

Organization and Administration

Arab education has, from the beginning, been administered by a separate department in the Ministry of Education. This department has become — intentionally or unintentionally — a source of discrimination against Arab education. It is on the periphery of the Ministry of Education and suffers from a serious shortage of manpower and resources. Consequently, the Arab population has demanded that the department be decentralized and then integrated into the six existing educational districts.

We know that decentralization can be dangerous: integrating the weak sector into the strong, well-based sector is liable to further weaken the weak sector, because the competition is not fair. On the other hand, a situation of decentralization without subsequent integration could arise as small Arab departments branch off in each district. In the last two years, there has been a gradual liquidation of the Department of Arab Education — without any alternative proposals. As a result, we often find

ourselves in a chaotic situation with no one to turn to.

Nevertheless, we are not retreating from our demand for the immediate decentralization of the department and its integration into the districts. The present situation of no decentralization and no department seriously weakens Arab education. We want to avoid decentralization that leads to dispersal.

The Arab sector, represented by the Control Committee for Arab Education, must participate in all decisions concerning the decentralization, so that it will not be forced to consume goods not of its own choosing. The programs of the Ministry of Education met with failure when the Ministry did not correctly assess the needs of the population.

There is a scarcity of Arabs in upper echelons of the Ministry of Education. We had hoped that it would be the main government channel for the absorption of Arab intellectuals and that it would fit them into the various educational frameworks. But an investigation reveals that the situation is far from desirable. Of the 980 senior posts in the Ministry of Education, Arab education was allotted only 40 — approximately 4 percent. Thirty-two of these positions — 3 percent — are filled by Arabs, despite the fact that every fifth student in Israel is an Arab. Furthermore, most of the Arab officials are of a low rank; very few are in policy-making circles. The only high post held by an Arab is that of Vice Director of the Arab Education Department. There are many departments without a single Arab official. In the Teacher Training Department there are eight positions, but no Arabs. In the Advancement, Relief, and Rehabilitation of Neighborhoods Department there are fifteen positions, but not one Arab.

This is the picture. What is needed now is a clear policy aimed at resolving the difficulties in Arab education and narrowing the gap between it and the Jewish sector. Advancement of Arab education means more equality and integration. Without this, it is difficult to speak of "education for democracy" and coexistence between Jews and Arabs in Israel. □

EXPORTS OF WEST BANK PRODUCE TO TREBLE NEXT YEAR

TA151212 Jerusalem Domestic Service in English 1000 GMT 15 Jun 87

[Text] Israel plans to treble the export of Arab farming produce from the territories to Europe in the next year -- this, according to officials of the Agricultural Ministry speaking in Jericho today. From Jericho, Steve Rodan reports:

[Begin recording] [Rodan] The Israeli export company Agrexco has been buying up quality Arab produce for export to Europe. So far the exports have been small but steadily increasing. Last year 370 tons were exported by Agrexco: this year the figure has gone up to more than 600 tons, and officials in the Civil Administration expect Arab exports to go up to over 2,000 tons next year. The key, according to officials, is the willingness of Arab farmers to invest in modern equipment and grow fruits and vegetables that have a market in Europe. Deputy Agriculture Minister Avraham Katz-'Oz says he sees no competition with Israeli produce.

[Katz-'Oz] As a matter of fact, there is no problem till now, because the prices of the exports are high enough not to compete with the Israeli domestic market, and when they have what can be called a second-best or second grading at production, they send it to Jordan. So there is no problem now. Maybe there will be a problem, and then we'll have to take care about it.

[Rodan] So far, farmers here are growing new species of squash, zucchini, artichokes, not found in the Israeli market, as well as new strains of hot pepper and California green pepper. For their part, the 60 farmers who came to this seminar in Jericho said their chief problem in growing export-quality produce is the water shortage and electricity and housing shortages as well. Officials responded by asking the farmers to be patient, adding that within the Green Line farmers have been hit by a greater cutback in water than in the Jordan Valley. [end recording]

/12624

CSO: 4400/231

RAKAH'S WILNER INTERVIEWED ON PRC TRIP

TAl770721 Jerusalem Deomstic Service in Hebrew 0405 GMT 17 Jun 87

[Interview with Me'ir Wilner, head of the Israeli Communist Party, by Razi Barqay "last night"; place not given -- recorded]

[Text] [Wilner] A few weeks ago we received an invitation from the CPC Central Committee. The invitation reads: The Chinese invite a delegation of the Israeli CP Central Committee on a visit for talks with the CPC leadership.

[Barqay] But they boycotted you for many years, did they not?

[Wilner] You cannot say this in fact. There was never an official break. We regularly sent them our material, and they regularly reciprocated with their English publications. Therefore, no side ever declared a break. De facto, our visits ranged from 1956 -- when I personally participated in the eighth convention of the CPC, the first convention after the revolution, featuring Mao Zedong, Chou Enlai, and the other well-known leaders -- to 1961 when our last delegation visited the PRC.

[Barqay] Do you believe that you fell victim to the tension which prevailed between the Chinese and Moscow?

[Wilner] I do not define it in this way. There was a certain development in the Communist Movement, and matters are gradually improving now.

[Barqay] Can one infer from this that matters are also gradually improving between Israel and the PRC?

[Wilner] I have no information on this. I simply think this will be one of the issues we will discuss there.

[Barqay] What do you know about the Chinese position on the Middle East conflict?

[Wilner] To the best of my knowledge, they are, first of all, in favor of the international conference as decided by the UN General Assembly -- namely, including the participation of the PRC as one of the five permanent

participation of the PRC as one of the five permanent members of the Security Council, Israel, of course, and the PLO. They recognize the PLO as the sole representative of the Palestinian people, as recognized by the United Nations, too.

[Barqay] I have a question which you will not like: Does Moscow know of this visit?

[Wilner, laughing] This is really funny. I do not know whether they know of it at all.

[Barqay] In other words, is the state of things such that you can launch an independent move of this type without the knowledge of the Moscow CPSU?

[Wilner] How does this concern them? We are an independent party. They are also an independent brother party, of course. This does not mean that our correspondent in Moscow [as heard] will not know; at this very moment he does not yet know.

/12624

CSO: 4400/231

COAL FROM COLOMBIA

Jerusalem THE JERUSALEM POST in English 29 May 87 p 19

[Article by Ken Schachter]

[Text]

TEL AVIV. - Israel has contracted to buy 2.1 million tons of coal from Colombia through the end of the decade, in Jerusalem's first major coal purchase from Latin America.

The contract, to be signed next week in Colombia, is estimated to be worth between \$63 million and \$116m. depending on swings in the price of coal.

The deal apparently represents an effort by Jerusalem to distance itself from the political tumult in South Africa, one of Israel's major coal suppliers, along with the U.S. and Australia. Israel is also exploring coal deals with Poland and China.

Colombia's ambassador to Israel, Lazar Gilinsky, said the figure of 2.1 million tons was considered "the minimum quantity" to be delivered during the period of the contract and prices will be guided by a basket of prices from several exporting countries. South Africa has been undercutting other coal producers in recent months to offset the economic boycott imposed by many countries to protest Pretoria's apartheid policies. Industry observers charge that many countries continue to buy inexpensive South African coal while paying lip service to sanctions.

In 1986, Israel exported about \$17m. in non-military goods to Colombia, while importing products worth \$7m., roughly \$6m. of that in

coffee. Israel's exports include agricultural equipment, fertilizers and flower stock.

Colombia expects to ship the first 400,000 tons of coal in July, with the rest being delivered on a yearly basis through 1990.

At a seminar on the Colombian economy sponsored by the Israel-Latin America Chamber of Commerce yesterday, Yehuda Atzmoni, of the Ministry of Industry and Trade, said the coal agreement was part of an effort by Israel to diversify suppliers. He noted the effort to find alternative energy sources was proceeding even though some other suppliers might offer lower prices.

For his part, Gilinsky voiced the hope that the coal contract would wipe out Colombia's balance-of-payments deficit with Israel.

With 18.2 billion tons, Colombia has Latin America's largest proven coal reserves. It also has 1.3 billion barrels of proven petroleum reserves and a climate that allowed it to export coffee worth \$1.8 billion in 1985. Despite slumps in coffee and oil prices last year, Colombia managed to sustain an estimated gross national product growth rate of 4.5 per cent.

Colombia exported \$282m. worth of coal in 1986 and exports are expected to rise to \$454m. this year and \$1.162 billion in 1990.

/9274

CSO: 4400/223

DEFENSE COOPERATION WITH SWITZERLAND

Haifa INNOVATION in English No 137, Apr 87 pp 4-5

[Text]

Tel Aviv -- Cooperation on a number of defense related subjects may be under discussion between Israel and Switzerland. The recent official visit here by Lt. Gen. Eugen Luthy, the head of Switzerland's General Staff, as guest of Israel's chief of staff, is believed to be an indication in that direction.

In the past Switzerland already bought a significant volume of special armor piercing ammunition, developed and manufactured here. Now that country's armed forces are said to be testing the pilotless reconnaissance planes developed and manufactured by two Israel companies.

During his visit here, Lt. Gen. Luthy saw I.D.F. units on maneuvers and visited several defense manufacturers. In his meeting with the local press corps he admitted his country's interest in a number of electronic warfare systems and electro optical devices developed by Israel experts.

/9274

CSO: 4400/223

BRIEFS

NEW SETTLEMENTS TO BE SET UP--Gush Emunim intends to set up two new settlements within 2 months: Avene Hefez in Samaria, and 'Asa'el in the southern Hebron Hills. This was decided by the limited Gush Emunim Secretariat after it was made clear that approval for the establishment of these settlements had already been given previously. The Secretariat also decided to act to set up the six settlements which were included in the coalitional agreement. Hanan Porat, who is in charge of Gush Emunim's public relations, told our correspondent Avshalom Ginosar that his organization does not intend to enter a confrontation with political and security bodies over this matter, and therefore it chose the settlements which have already received full approval. [Text] [Jerusalem Domestic Service in Hebrew 1000 GMT 5 Jun 87 TA] /12624

CSO: 4400/231

DAILY CONDEMNS U.S. STAND ON USSR ATTENDING PEACE MEETING

LD250928 Kuwait KUNA in English 0846 GMT 25 Jun 87

[All quotation marks as received]

[Text] Kuwait, 25 Jun (KUNA)—Local daily KUWAIT TIMES Thursday strongly condemned the U.S. stance towards the international peace conference and particularly towards the Soviets participation, and said that the United States deserves to be booked for indelicate manners on such issue.

In an editorial, the English-language paper said "that it has been officially stated in Washington that the State Department intends to tick the Soviets off, and tell them "to earn their seat on the conference table." "It should be perfectly clear to the whole world that the self-appointed gate-keepers of the international conference have no business, let alone authority, to be issuing invitations or withholding them," it went on.

Regarding the "qualification" for the privilege of being present at the conference, the paper said that "Washington has also raised the issue of "qualification" to attend the conference," it asked "what is the U.S. record in the Middle East.

"We need not go far back in history, one fact alone should knock the bottom off the U.S. pretensions on this matter, the total and blind support Reagan has given to Israel, the largest single sources of trouble in the Middle East," KUWAIT TIMES noted.

In conclusion the paper recalled the Irangate scandle, saying that "in any event, it would be better for it (the United States) to remember the maxim that it is not the wisest of things of residents of glass houses to be hurling stones at others."

/9604

CSO: 4400/230

ENERGY DEVELOPMENT RESEARCH INITIATED

Kuwait ARAB TIMES in English 6 Jun 87 p 4

[Text]

THE Director of the Energy Department at Kuwait Institute for Scientific Research (KISR) Dr Adnan Al Homoud said the department's research was concentrated in three basic areas: the evaluation of the quantitative and qualitative characteristics of the country's renewed energy resources; analysis and applied research and theoretical and applied research in connection with energy rationalization.

Solar

In an interview with a local magazine Dr Al Homoud said answering the energy question requires a comprehensive approach. All research should perform its role towards realising development of the country's energy resources.

He added that his department

is undertaking several activities to evaluate solar and wind energy, and is collecting the necessary climatic data for analysis. KISR has completed feasibility studies for a solar cooling and photovoltage system in Kuwait, he said.

Al Homoud said his department had recently performed a feasibility study of wind resources and had built many stations to monitor wind speed in different areas of the country.

Control

In the field of energy rationalization Dr Al Homoud said that one project recently implemented used automatic control equipment to activate the airconditioning equipment and lighting system at KISR to coincide with office hours, adding

that this project will save about 40 percent of the electricity consumption during the summer season.

He added that another project involved the cooling storage system in the airconditioning installations in Kuwait which aimed at minimizing electricity demands.

He said that the individual electricity consumption rate was high in Kuwait compared to other countries particularly since the industrial and productive base in Kuwait is limited.

/9274

CSO: 4400/229

ECONOMIC TIES WITH CUBA STRENGTHENED

Kuwait ARAB TIMES in English 10 Jun 87 p 3

[Text]

A VISITING Cuban official held a second round of talks in Kuwait yesterday with officials at the Foreign Ministry.

The Director of the North African and Middle East Department at the Cuban Foreign Ministry, Ulysses Estrada, met at the ministry's headquarters with head of the economic department, Faisal Saleh Al Mutawa, then with the head of the press and culture department, Abdul Aziz Essa Khodher.

Al Mutawa told Kuna that the meeting centered on the issue of international debt and the difficulties of finding a solution to this problem.

He added that the Kuwaiti and Cuban sides had agreed on an immediate endorsement of a new international economic system to resolve the debt issue.

Al Mutawa added that he and the Cuban official discussed bilateral economic relations and the broadening of trade exchange between the two countries.

Al Khodher told Kuna after meeting with Estrada that their talks had examined bilateral

cultural relations and means of enhancing them.

He said that he discussed with the Cuban official the up-coming visit by the Undersecretary at the Foreign Ministry, Sulaiman Majed Al Shaheen, to Cuba to strengthen bilateral relations in all fields.

Briefed

He said that both sides expressed similar views on issues of common interest, in their capacity as non-aligned countries.

He pointed out that the positions of both countries were very much alike toward several global issues such as disarmament, racial discrimination and the support of national liberation movements.

Estrada, who accompanied the Cuban Foreign Minister Isidoro Malierca on his recent visit to Tehran and Baghdad, also held talks with Al Shaheen and with the acting director of the political department Abdul Aziz Al Sharekh.

Estrada briefed Ministry officials on the outcome of Malierca's talks in the Iraqi and Iranian capitals.

/9274

CSO: 4400/229

ECONOMIC PROBLEMS OF DEVELOPMENT COUNTRIES OUTLINED

Kuwait ARAB TIMES in English 6 Jun 87 p 4

[Text] GENEVA, June 5, (Kuna): Kuwait's Minister of Social Affairs and Labor, Sheikh Jaber Al Mubarak Al Sabah, said here today that the developing countries will be the only side harmed by the failure to set up a new international economic system that realizes justice.

In a speech at the 73rd conference of the International Labor Organization, currently being held here, the head of the Kuwaiti delegation said the developing countries will continue to be exploited under the current economic system because in most cases they are forced to buy manufactured goods and modern technology which the developed countries monopolize, at higher prices and at the same time are selling the raw materials they produce at low prices, set by developed countries.

Privileges

Sheikh Jaber pointed out that dangerous consequences would result from attempts by certain countries not to commit themselves to their financial contributions to the UN and its organizations under the pretext of making a balance between financial contribution and voting power.

Sheikh Jaber said these attempts are a way to pressure the UN by the big powers to maintain privileges that contradict justice and the spirit of joint cooperation within the international organizations.

Sheikh Jaber regretted that the developed nations are reluctant to shoulder their responsi-

lities in assisting the developing countries and at the same time they are spending billions on armament and the nuclear arms race.

He pointed out that "the oil exporting countries, though classified as developing nations, are extending a lot for other developing countries."

In the case of Kuwait, Sheikh Jaber explained, it has extended, through the economic development fund, aid amounting to above \$4 billion over the past 20 years.

Duplication

This sum constitutes seven percent of the national income of Kuwait, the minister said.

He added that the fund's capital had reached \$7 billion in 1981 which had been devoted to meeting the needs of the developing countries and to set up projects in the fields of energy, transport, communications, agriculture and industry.

On the issues raised by the re-

port of the director general of ILO, Sheikh Jaber said Kuwait supports the idea of restricting the number of objectives with the aim of implementing more ambitious and accurate programs and emphasizing regional cooperation and decentralization.

He also expressed support for the idea of reconsidering the conditions of the international organizations to avoid duplication and to overcome financial and administrative difficulties.

The Kuwaiti minister said, that Kuwait was not calling for the politicizing of the ILO, but said this did not mean that the organization should keep itself away from the political aspects that result from causes of national liberation, human rights and social justice. He pointed out that the Middle East countries received declining financial allocations for technical cooperation programs, saying that last year, the region received \$3.2 million compared with \$7.3 millions for the programs in 1983.

Housing

He added that by reviewing the technical cooperation projects for 1986 it was clearly noted that the Arab Gulf states have not received any project despite their needs for technical expertise in many sectors.

As for the international interest in the issue of housing and providing residences for the needy, Sheikh Jaber said Kuwait appreciates the efforts of the organization in that field and

said over the past 30 years more than 34,000 housing units had been built in Kuwait for its citizens in addition to soft loans given to those who wished to build their own houses. He also pointed out that more than \$3 billion was allocated for completing residential projects in different parts of Kuwait within the framework of the five-year plan, ending in 1990.

On the situation in the occupied Arab territories, Sheikh Jaber said the Israeli authorities

were continuing to violate the rights of Palestinian workers and were imposing heavy taxes on them without extending assistance.

He added that the Israeli authorities had arrested the leaders of Palestinian labor unions and seized Arab lands and sources of water with the aim of forcing the Palestinians to evacuate their lands as part of their design challenging the international community and recommendations.

He also condemned the racial discrimination policy which the apartheid regime of Pretoria is following and said Kuwait is committed by all international resolutions to boycotting the regime.

He called for the adoption of an Arab draft plan on the serious economic and social result of the continuation of the Iraq-Iran war, which was wasting money and destroying the economy and threatening world trade and security.

/9274

CSO: 4400/229

SHA'BAN URGES PALESTINIAN PRESENCE IN ALL ARAB COUNTRIES

Beirut AL-SAFIR in Arabic 28 May 87 p 5

[Article: "Sha'ban Calls for New Agreement Guaranteeing Palestinian Presence in the Arab States"]

[Text] Tripoli--The leader of the Islamic Unification Movement, Shaykh Sa'id Sha'ban, called for a new agreement more comprehensive than the Cairo agreement to guarantee the Palestinian presence in all the Arab countries.

In a statement he made yesterday, Sha'ban said: "Every agreement that guarantees the continuance of the Palestinian revolution and protects the Palestinian people on all Arab territory is an agreement that must endure as long as the people endures." He warned that "abandoning the Palestinian people would be a serious matter and would pave the way for terminating its cause." He expressed the view that Lebanon and the other Arab and Islamic states must establish a compact whereby they protect the Palestinian presence and the sacred cause of Palestine. The Palestinian people or its cause must never at any time be denied. Therefore there must be a new agreement more comprehensive than the Cairo agreement to guarantee that the Palestinian presence in all the Arab countries remains with its honor preserved."

Sha-ban called on "the Palestinian people and the organizations that represent it to be equal to the sacred historical responsibility that is the concern of the Islamic world. It is not fitting for the first persons to break the agreement to be certain representatives of the Palestinian people when they try to open a dialogue with Israel."

He warned that, "any dialogue with Israel by any group, whether at the level of bilateral negotiations or through the international conference, is a betrayal of the supreme cause of our nation, the cause of Palestine." He said, "It is unthinkable for the Arabs and Muslims to bow before Israel, when Islam is a religion of holy war, sacrifice, fighting against oppression, and combatting oppressors."

Sha'ban asked the Arab and Islamic worlds to take a position calling on justice- and peace-loving peoples to stand stalwart in the face of the

Zionist entity and work to destroy it. He indicated that "the proclaiming of Yawm al-Ques [Jerusalem Day] was a form of the support that Muslims have expressed," and pointed to the speech in which President Hafiz al-Asad said that Islam is the source of our strength and unity and that Islam is for opposing Israel and all who are behind Israel. He said, "That makes us believe that the steadfastness to which Islam calls is what unifies. We ask all the Arab and Islamic countries to stand beside the Palestinian people and to revive their cause, which some organizations have wanted to turn into a forgotten cause. The resistance in South Lebanon is the drop at the beginning of the downpour."

Yesterday, Sha'ban received a delegation from the Foreign Ministry of the Islamic Republic of Iran, including 'Isa Tabataba'i and 'Abbas Himyar.

Sha'ban described the visit as being "to express confidence and greetings for the Feast [of Breaking the Ramadan Fast]." After the meeting, the delegation left, returning to Damascus.

12937/9190

CSO: 4404/400

FADLALLAH WARNS OF 'CONSPIRACY' TO ISOLATE LEBANON

Beirut AL-SAFIR in Arabic 31 May 87 p 3

[Article: "Fadlallah: 'European-Vatican Conspiracy To Move Lebanon Toward International Neutrality, There Is an Attempt To Glamorize the President's Image'"]

[Text] The eminent scholar Muhammad Husayn Fadlallah announced that there is "a European-Vatican political conspiracy attempting to move the situation in Lebanon on the basis of international neutrality." He pointed to the telephone call between President Amin al-Jumayyil and Minister Nabih Barri, warning that the cards in the political alliances are being shuffled on the basis of the traitor's being a patriot and the patriot's expanding the circle of his patriotism."

This was said on Friday, the day before yesterday, in a sermon delivered from the pulpit of the Mosque of the Imam al-Rida in Bi'r al-'Abd.

Fadlallah began his sermon by talking about Ramadan and the Feast of Breaking the Fast. He said, "How hard and how sad the lot of the person for whom Ramadan has been an occasion of sin! During the feast, I want you to call to mind the spiritual meaning of what you are experiencing. How many things God wants us to call to mind during the feast! When we start in our responsibilities with God, there will remain no area without its line of responsibility. When you are with God, your responsibility begins in your heart, your mind, and your life with your wife and with people. God intervenes even in your food. He intervenes in your drink, in your clothing, in your dwelling, in all your relations and positions. Responsibility is one, but it includes all of life. Therefore, no one will ever say to you that your responsibility lies within the circle of your livelihood and that politics are not your responsibility. When you are with God, God charges you with responsibility for everything you can do. When God gives you power, He will say to you tomorrow, 'I gave you this power. How did you set it in motion?' Yes, God has an argument against us, and He will call us to account for this. Therefore, you must confront your political responsibility for the truth in every place, standing in it in the line of strength. You must carry out your military and cultural responsibility in every area where the community requires it."

He continued, saying, "There is no excuse for a person who has power needed by society and the community and who does not share in defending people. Liekwise, there is no room for neutrality between truth and falsehood in the political, cultural, military and other arenas. We must adhere to the political line that the Messenger of God would adhere to, if he were with us. Think about the political line active in the milieu of the Messenger of God and the imams. Islam is our political line--Islam alone! There is no Easterner and no Westerner, no Marxist, no nationalist, and no regionalist."

He said, "They say to you that there is something of Islam in nationalism and in Marxism, too. If we grant this, why should we take part of the thing and leave the whole? We must take Islam in its entirety. Our whole responsibility is that the world should understand that Islam has a policy whose actions and methods are based on the methods of Islamic law. All of its steps are taken on the basis of Islamic law. We must have an Islamic policy that defines our stands and positions by means of Islam alone. We are for anyone who travels this line, and we turn away from anyone who deviates from it. Let people not deceive you and give you looks like Islam but is atheism in its depth and content. Thus, our battles must be the battles of Islam. Some people say, 'So-and-so is a believer,' meaning that he is simple. The believer is not so. The believer is good at giving assistance, light as a burden, and good at managing his household. He is not bitten twice by the same snake, nor does he repeat an experiment that fails. The believer is therefore always testing, changing, and replacing. Some people say, 'So-and-so adhered to his leader and his party until the end.' This is a loyalty that is not pleasing to God. Be loyal to God, and sift men according to your principle. Anyone who falls through the sieve, leave him under the sieve. Betray all people on the basis of loyalty to God. Only betrayal of God is blameworthy. Betraying God's enemies is desirable and demanded.

"Be aware now. Those around you are plotting to trick you. Do not look to the outward form of the game; look at its results. Do not let the media take you in. Think of the organizations hidden behind the media. Try to set out to learn the deepest level of the game that is ready to be played in these days--the domestic, regional, and international game.

"The world is moving. America and Russia are in the Gulf, together with the countries that move in their orbit. They want to intervene little by little to take over the waters of the gulf and to try to throw a cordon around Iran and Islam there. The story, according to everyone, is that the danger is Iran, not Israel. That is because Israel is inside the international club according to whose ideas our presidents and kings are educated, ideas that move within the American and Russian circle. Thus, there has come to be an Arab-Israeli pact, sometimes secret, sometimes public, to plan to confront Islam. They are working to distort the Islamic revolution to Muslims. Sometimes there are Israeli weapons for Iran; at another time there are Iranian pistachios for Israel, so that people will lose their trust in the revolution. And the conspiracy continues.

"The story of Israel and the story of the PLO and its crisis: There is the trick of the international conference after which everybody is panting--like the mirage of Baqi'ah that the thirsty man thinks is water, but when he approaches it, he finds nothing. It is really a mirage, because it would be difficult for the international conference to take place in the near or remote future. It is a mirage in its content, because, if it were held, it would give the Arabs and Palestinians only a few crumbs of dry or moldy bread politically or otherwise. The story is for people to be moving, so that the Israeli problem distracts them internally from all their problems. In the view of all the Arabs now, the problem is whether the Labor Party will triumph over the Likud, or vice versa. Many of our leaders--and they are not our leaders--stand on the side of the Labor Party and say that we support it. Perhaps tomorrow they will give it lots of oil money to accept the idea of the international conference. Arab stupidity that has destroyed the entire Arab present! The not so genial simplicity that was responsible for all the Arab defeats! America and Europe give Israel every military, financial, and political support. To the Arabs they have given declarations, initiatives, dreams, and conferences. The Arabs love words a great deal, so they often fall for words."

Fadlallah continued: "This country is still preoccupied with the game of cancelling the Cairo Agreement here or there and with the resignation of the government. The story of the parliamentary deputies of this country is that they are busy burying the dead and not busy with reviving the present. The 17 May Agreement and the Cairo Agreement died years ago. Our honorable deputies have come to conduct the funeral. They are good at burying our problems and at burying dead things. But there is a people that is dying. Give it a drink of political, security, and economic medicine! Understand it well. Understand its problems. After the people dies, there is no problem. The parliament is ready to perform all the ceremonies to commemorate the dead and is watching the budget and the funds for political pronouncements. We are told that it is these people who bear responsibility for the country. The story at the deepest level is that they are the weak tools of those who are setting the country's tragedy in motion and who play with the country's tragedy.

"What is in the arena? A short time ago, we heard about Arnun. Israel wanted to destroy it, and the president of Lebanon became a Southerner, zealous for the South with all the 'patriotism,' sincerity, and Lebanese-ism he has. He set out, through his representatives in the Foreign Ministry and the leadership of the army to mediate with Israel not to carry it out. The domestic scene starts moving; there are meetings on the basis of the story of the South; the roadblocks fall on this basis; and telegrams are sent praising the position taken by the president. The entire story, according to our information, is that there was no plan for Arnun to be destroyed, because the international and regional political situation does not permit Israel to sweep away a town, because that would raise more than one problem for more than one American and Israeli political position that they want to move only in the direction they have

planned. The problem was not actual, so we did not comment upon it. There was a desire to bring it up somehow in order to influence the domestic game, glamorize the image of this figure, the president, and shuffle some of the cards on the table. The cards of the political alliances are being shuffled on the basis of the traitor's being a patriot and the patriot's widening the area of his patriotism. The question is one of shuffling the cards in the arena for the sake of the domestic alliances in the arena.

Fadlallah noted that there is something unclear going on in the South whose purpose is "to bewilder people and complicate the relationship with the Mujahidin." He said, "Israel destroys, makes arrests, and undertakes daily operations to throw the political situation into confusion. But the political situation does not permit Israel to invade. We must draw up our accounts on this basis. We believe that Israel is now invading the South without actually invading it, by means of its air force that flies over the entire South, by means of its ships that blockade the South, and by means of its land forces in the strategic positions that overlook the South. This is an invasion of which Israel is now capable and that imposes on it no losses. When birds come down from the trees and walk on the ground, they are easier to catch."

He asked, "What is going on in Lebanon?" He said, "There is a European and Vatican effort working within a political conspiracy attempting to move the situation in Lebanon on the basis of international neutrality. Lebanon is to be a neutral country, isolated from the problems of the region, so that its role will be only to strengthen the Christian presence in Lebanon and in the entire region, free to evangelize and free politically. Lebanon is to remain the Vatican of the region. There are American moves involving certain major political positions whose image they are trying to glamorize in a thousand and one ways with the people. The coincidence in time between the cancellation of the Cairo Agreement and the 17 May Agreement may be part of this game that is underway in a thousand and one ways. The country is moving within the context of these large schemes to isolate Lebanon from its region, open the way to a Lebanese-Israeli peace, and give certain states in the region some share in Lebanon by one means or another."

In addition, REUTER reported that Fadlallah said in a similar sermon: "We must work at home and abroad and on all levels on the basis of releasing the innocent abducted persons that we have, because God desires that we seek justice for ourselves and for others."

He added: "When we make this call, it is because we shall then be at harmony with ourselves and with our principles. We completely reject injustice toward others, just as we reject having anyone commit injustice toward us."

12937/9k90
CSO: 4404/400

FADLALLAH DEEMS 'NEUTRALITY' IMPOSSIBLE

Beirut AL-SAFIR in Arabic 1 Jun 87 p 3

[Article: "Fadlallah: Lebanon Does Not Have Control Over Its Neutrality, Can Only Be Affiliated With an Axis"]

[Text] The eminent scholar Muhammad Husayn Fadlallah voiced the opinion that, "The question of the neutrality of Lebanese policy, given the Arabic reality, is an unrealistic question." He considered that "Lebanon, in accordance with its location, nature, and the course of events within it, can only be affiliated with a particular axis, based on the fact that Lebanon has to take its point of departure from one or another international axis that dominates this regional axis."

In his weekly talk, Fadlallah said that, "The question of Lebanon's neutrality in the Arab arena and of Lebanon's neutrality on Arab and regional issues is something Lebanon cannot control by itself, because Lebanon does not have any power of itself. There is no joint international umbrella or joint international interest that would allow for the existence of this neutrality on a stable political base."

He expressed his belief that perhaps the question is "being raised and some of its particular terms are being discussed to create a certain political situation in the nature of the domestic and regional political game, in order to reach certain concessions and particular conditions for certain projects underway in the area."

He said, "Lebanon will remain the country from which the Vatican surveys the region in Christian terms in order to assert the Christian presence in the region evangelistically and politically. And Lebanon will remain the country from which the major powers survey the region either to eavesdrop on events or to move certain specific details of them."

Answering a question, Fadlallah thought that the Palestinian presence in Lebanon, on the one hand, and the authentic Islamic political presence, on the other hand, as well as the organic connection between the terms of Lebanese reality and those of the Israeli and Palestinian question, allow for no kind of independence of the Lebanese issue from the Palestinian issue. This is particularly true if we realize that the Palestinian

issue is being moved in the Lebanese circle in order for it to represent more pressure on certain regional circumstances, as a card by means of which it is desired to move certain international political relations in this circle or that. The question [of independence] therefore possesses no degree of realism. Furthermore, there is a new international struggle between the Soviet Union and America over controlling the Lebanese political arena, which both parties know has an influence on the regional arena. Therefore, this question in which the two sides are making moves in the name of the Palestinian issue and in the name of the Israeli issue cannot realize any isolation for Lebanon from the currents that hold sway over the latter two questions. Nor can it be isolated from the currents that hold sway over the Gulf war. The entire problem is that Lebanon is the arena for political experiments in the region, the lung with which the region's problems breathe.

He considered it premature to talk "about the existence of a profound rapprochement between the United States and the Soviet Union, because there is more than one hot spot in the world where their struggles based on their political, economic, and security interests are being played out." He pointed out that there is "a kind of breaking of the ice in international relations to create an atmosphere of international dialogue that may allow negotiations to continue between the two." He does not rule out some form of "accord on certain hot spots, to cool them down, due to the level of danger for their joint interests." He noted this in what he described as an attempt to cool the question of the Middle East crisis, alluding to the proposal for the international conference, or speaking about the Gulf war on the basis of certain proposals made for political consumption.

Fadlallah called attention to the fact that "any agreement between the two great powers will take place at the expense of the oppressed peoples. This is because the matter of international agreement on any region takes as its starting point the fact that the region in question is a speck on the sea of the world and in the sea of international interests at the world level." He expressed the belief that, "this agreement will be concerned with opposing the Islamic current and the true interest of the peoples working for the sake of the oppressed to defeat all the plots of international arrogance."

He said, "Any problem raised in the life of the people on more than one level will become a problem for the Islamic movement, given the fact that [such problems] draw the people's attention to the problems having to do with daily life and to the many details of its consumer conditions, rather than to the great plots secretly being drawn up for its future by the great powers. At the same time, these [problems] can be of service to this movement, because it can use them to point out the nature of the non-Islamic organizations working to starve out and overthrow the people for the benefit of the political game that may turn into method of finger biting [malicr], point scoring, or the stirring up of political storms at the expense of the life of the people."

He pointed out that any "system that does not start from reverence for God and from spiritual value will turn into a problem for the people,

rather than being a solution to its problems. The Islamic movement is not a political movement coming from outside the Muslim person. Rather, it moves from his deepest historical and ideological depths."

The information bureau of Fadlallah's office denied what a local news agency published concerning telephone contact between him and an official (Karim Baqraduni) in one of the organizations in East Beirut about what was called "an issue raised in an information agency whose writer did not strive for accuracy."

12937/9190

CSO: 4404/400

EFFECTS OF POLITICAL CRISIS, INFLATION ON BANKS

London AL-HAWADITH in Arabic 29 May 87 pp 39-41

[Article: "Lebanese Banks Wrap Up a Difficult Year and Face an Easier One"]

[Text] Lebanese banks went through a critical period in 1986 marked by a deteriorating security and political situation that had a great impact on their operations and performance and by a tragic monetary situation that made them vulnerable to vicious inflationary pressures. Moreover, all other problems faced by the Lebanese banks--be they related to their sharp differences with the Central Bank of Lebanon, to tight investment opportunities in Lebanon, to the collection of debts from the Lebanese and international markets, to higher interest rates or to the liquidity crisis these banks faced at different times in 1986 and have been recently suffering in the wake of the central bank's demand that banks subscribe to treasury bonds in accordance with their deposit volume--were the byproducts of these two situations. Add to that the conventional problems led by competition at home and abroad, a lower rate or a total lack of economic growth due to 12 years of war, a drop in the investment volume and the general recession throughout the Arab region. These negatives notwithstanding, the Lebanese banking community remains somewhat sound even though some banks suffer from a number of monetary and technical problems.

Some Lebanese and foreign bankers used to think that the severity of the problems facing the banking community would definitely drive some of them out of business and would bring losses on Lebanese banks abroad, forcing some banks into mergers. However, the year 1986 passed without the collapse of a single bank or a single merger save for some buyouts within the community and the closing of a foreign bank, a normal move for a non-Lebanese bank. As for claims of losses sustained by the banks, this is a relative matter not subject to any one standard and can happen in times of peace.

Perhaps the most important observation here is the constant decline of the banking community's assets when valued against the dollar.

In 1984, the total sum of bank deposits amounted to about LL 79 billion, or \$8.229 billion (LL9.6 for the dollar).

In 1985, total deposits amounted to LL 117.4 billion, or \$6.486 billion (LL 18.1 to the dollar) and at the end of 1986, bank deposits were LL 331.6 billion, or \$3.811 billion (LL 87 to the dollar). These figures show a sharp decline in Lebanese bank deposits which is attributable to the fact that "the Lebanese banks have lost their ability to attract depositors both at home and abroad."

This opinion is substantiated by the drop in non-resident Lebanese currency deposits from \$112 million (LL 2.015 million) at the end of 1985 to \$27.9 million (LL 2.430 billion) at the end of 1986. Moreover, non-resident foreign currency deposits dropped from \$270 million (LL 6.653) at the end of 1985 to \$288 million (LL 25.072 million) at the end of 1986.

This drop in deposits, hence in assets, has compelled some world banks to suspend their dealings with a number of Lebanese banks to ward off greater problems. This suspension, however, remains limited in scope and is not general enough to spread fear. But should this situation persist, no one will be able to predict the possible consequences.

From a banking point of view, several reasons have come together to create the monetary tragedy that is sending economic and social tremors throughout Lebanon. The most significant of these reasons are:

1. The Israeli invasion of Lebanon that destroyed a good part of the Lebanese economic infrastructure. The more serious damage, however, was due to the Lebanese "formula" that was set ablaze by the Israeli invasion, interlocking it with regional and international conflicts on Lebanese soil, thus undermining general confidence in Lebanon, destroying a large part of the basic structures, closing some international routes and transforming the capital into a theatre of plunder and anarchy affecting, among other things, the banks themselves.

2. The large sums of foreign currency spent in 1983 on weapons for the army and the mountain war. This spending was the straw that broke the back of the Lebanese foreign currency reserves at the central bank. The bank that at that time assumed sole responsibility for providing the government with foreign currency was subjected to much criticism regarding its position on this kind of financing and its failure to provide candid financial counsel or advice to the state to, at least, obtain foreign currency from the free market in order to ward off the sharp drop in the Lebanese currency's rate of exchange that followed the depletion of the greatest part of its reserves, according to Dr Elias Saba.

3. The worsening recession in the Arab region, beginning with the year 1982 while negative factors continued to build up in the Lebanese arena with the direct consequence of a sharp drop in remittances by Lebanese citizens working in Arab countries. In this regard, the economic crisis in the Arab region had a manifest role in aggravating the bad living conditions in Lebanon. Remittances by Lebanese subjects working in Gulf countries dropped from LL 1.200 million a month in 1982, \$3 billion or more a year, to about \$2,400 million in 1982, to \$1,200 million in 1983, to less than \$1 billion in 1984,

to \$800 million in 1985 and, finally, to about \$600 million in 1986. Perhaps this decrease is the decisive factor in the decline in the rate of exchange to the current tragic levels.

4. The departure of official government "presence" from the Lebanese capital, Beirut, in 1984 and the degenerating state of anarchy and unrest. Whereas economic recession in the area and the mountain war have triggered a drop in remittances from Lebanese citizens working abroad, the anarchy in Beirut in 1984 made these workers more circumspect and more reluctant to remit their money to Lebanon except for the bare necessities.

5. The Bank of Lebanon's procrastination in coming to the rescue of the Lebanese pound by putting its full weight of no less than \$4 billion behind it, based on its commitment not to play the "sale" game so long as the government is living in a state of fiscal disequilibrium without making any kind of effort to recover its sources of revenue and to collect taxes and levies. The Bank of Lebanon may be right in adopting this position, but this does not relieve it of the responsibility of conferring a measure of flexibility on its foreign currency reserves whereby they could be thrust into the market with enough knowledge and wisdom to stop the sharp decline in the pound's exchange rate.

6. The government's free hand in exercising the policy of budget deficit or the policy of financing the budget from the deficit. No one knows as yet the size of the deficit in the 1986 expenditures even though statistics show that the government collected LL 6 billion in taxes and levies for 1986 and spent LL 40 billion. In other words, last year's deficit was LL 36 billion or six times more than government revenues. Whereas the treasury debt amounted to LL 53.1 billion at the end of 1985, it jumped to about LL 85 billion at the end of 1986. Hence, the government borrowed LL 43 billion in 1986. It is noted that no less than LL 20 billion of this sum is spent on subsidies for fuel, wheat and municipal and independent agency budgets.

As a result of such fiscal practices, the money mass doubled in a matter of a few months. The volume of money in circulation jumped from LL 8 billion in 1985 to LL 12.6 billion in June 1986 and to LL 14 billion at the end of 1986 and LL 16 billion in March 1987.

7. The security and the political situations which the Banking Association holds primarily responsible for the slump in the Lebanese pound's rate of exchange. Any measures taken outside these two frameworks will remain futile. It seems that the Central Bank has been influenced by the rumors that held the banks responsible for the state of national currency, thus prompting it to issue directives, regulations and decisions aimed more at the banks than at improving the state of the Lebanese currency.

A number of bankers believe that the Central Bank and the active banks are struggling over "a handful of dollars" still available on the market. The banks are after these dollars to cover their foreign currency positions and the Central Bank needs them to cover the oil and wheat bill which last year amounted to \$400 million, noting that the oil-wheat bill amount to \$750 million in 1985.

These bankers believe that the Central Bank's directives issued in 1986 are aimed at monopolizing the banks' liquidity to cover the government's local and foreign currency spending while keeping it away from the currency market.

This is how the bankers view the situation on the whole. But what does the Bank of Lebanon think?

Central Bank Governor Dr Edmund Na'im says that the Bank of Lebanon is working within the capabilities that are available to it, and in the narrowest margins of maneuverability, to defend the Lebanese pound. He points out, however, that the circumstances under which Lebanon is living are much more powerful than the Central Bank's capabilities and means and "undoubtedly, any improvement in the security or political situation will lead to an improvement in the pound's rate of exchange if such an improvement is directed at the recovery of state revenues, thus relieving the government of such heavy borrowing."

The governor agrees with the president of the Bankers' Association on this point, but they disagree in their evaluation of the means needed to improve the situation of the pound. The Bank of Lebanon believes in taking all possible measures to restore government revenues while the Bankers' Association insists on restoring law and order and recovering revenues as the sole solution to the exchange rate on the basis that any other measures will stem the fall of the pound only temporarily. Dr Zaki Mazbudi, Dr Elias Saba and Dr Nuahd Pasha all agree that existing or future monetary measures are only a "temporary shot in the arm" and the more important thing is to recover government revenues.

The Central Bank, however, is of the opinion that most Lebanese banks are involved in technical banking violations such as using deposits or other people's money for speculation instead of helping in the defense of the pound, and prefer to engage in tactics that force the Bank of Lebanon to sell its dollars.

As for Mr 'Adil al-Qassar, he replies to these allegations by affirming that the banks observe valid laws and directives and that the violators are very few and are subject to discipline by the Bank of Lebanon, unless the point at issue is the transfer of deposits into foreign currency, in which case it can be emphasized that neither the Bank of Lebanon nor the commercial banks have the right to interfere with the right of depositors to handle their money as they see fit.

Conversely, al-Qassar criticizes the Bank of Lebanon for its reluctance to support the pound at the proper time: "We all thought that the pound was on the way to recovery last February and that this trend would continue. But a sudden request came to light, one that the Bank of Lebanon could have forcefully checked and dealt with appropriately but failed to do so and so the recovery turned into a setback."

But what do bankers project for the future?

Bankers say that the Bank of Lebanon will be strict in 1987 in enforcing directive number 688 pertaining to mandatory reserves; number 689 banning banks and non-resident institutions from receiving deposits, offering credit and opening accounts in Lebanese currency; and number 690, pertaining to a ban on credit in Lebanese currency to non-residents, and all related amendments and agreements. Should political and militia leaders "turn a deaf ear" to returning state revenues to the government, the central bank, compelled by a public outcry over further decline in the value of the Lebanese pound, may adopt new measures and, therefore, the public debt is expected to exceed LL 100 billion this year.

From now until the end of summer, the rate of exchange is expected to stabilize at 115 to 125 pounds to the dollar. Any improvement will not exceed a limited margin due to the liquidity crisis which is expected to be alleviated by the return of some Lebanese citizens for summer vacation, especially now that the Beirut Airport has been reopened and Beirut is somewhat safe. Banking authorities expect the returnees to spend about \$500 million between next June and September.

From a banking standpoint, trends that ruled all throughout the past year are expected to continue with a measure of circumspection regarding any changes for the better or worse. These trends are:

1. Extreme caution in extending credit due to the circumstances of the Lebanese economy which may not allow the borrowers to repay their debts, particularly since the preferred interest rates are higher than 20 percent, not counting other charges and fees.
2. Higher interest on bank deposits, which are still lower than the 22 percent interest on treasury bonds at the Bank of Lebanon and higher in fringe markets, as part of the strategy using the interest weapon to attract deposits.
3. Handling problems emanating from defaults on foreign currency debts and devising appropriate solutions, including the rescheduling of debts.
4. It is no longer a secret that some Lebanese banks abroad have sustained losses from bad investments and it is not known what remedies have been adopted to make up this loss. The fact is that the Bank of Lebanon does not look favorably on the conditions of Lebanese banks abroad in the absence of appropriate cover from central banks there. The attitude of Arab central banks toward the conditions of Arab banks abroad is no different from the Lebanese one.
5. The situation in West Beirut is safe now and bank holdups have declined to almost zero. Therefore, bank losses due to robberies are expected to drop.
6. Collection of as many outstanding debts as possible in Lebanese currency and readiness to reschedule some of them.

7. Raising the capital fourfold at least to keep up with the tremendous rise in deposits.
8. Focus on two fields of investment: treasury bonds and trade financing and currency market.
9. Mergers may emerge as an inevitable solution for certain banks.
10. Most of the Lebanese banking community deposits, 71.8 percent, are invested in foreign currencies and this rate is expected to remain at this level for reasons having to do with capacity. Foreign currency deposits amounted to no more than 44.8 percent in 1985 and rose to 71.8 percent in 1986. The dollar value of these deposits, however, rose from \$2,477 million at the end of 1985 to just \$2,736 million at the end of 1986, an increase of \$259 million.

Banking authorities say that the normal rate of foreign currency deposits is only 30 percent, which means that 41 percent of foreign currency deposits are "hot," moving from the pound column to the dollar one for fear of a drop in the rate of exchange, on the one hand, and for speculation purposes, on the other. The return of such deposits to the Lebanese pound column to reap the profits is a likely possibility and is expected to lead to a better exchange rate for the pound and an improvement in Bank of Lebanon reserves.

11. The composition of the 83 Lebanese banks shall maintain its current formula, namely that 24 banks control 72 percent of bank deposits while the other 59 will maintain their current share of 28 percent of bank deposits.

12. Banks will be more inclined to open branches abroad to effect an investment equilibrium, noting that foreign investments are better and more profitable than domestic ones.

12502

CSO: 4404/390

AL-SADIQ AL-MAHDI FACES CIVIL WAR, SECESSION THREATS

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 11 Jun 87 p 14

[Article by Guenter Krabbe: "Bleak Outlook for Sudan's Future; al-Sadiq al Mahdi Lacks Drive and Negotiating Skill"]

[Text] Rumors of a coup, a government crisis lasting for weeks, the economy down, politicians unwilling to compromise, extremists on both sides ready to strike--Sudan seems to have reached the same point now once again which the biggest country Africa's had reached once before 18 years ago: the eve of a dictatorship. The same as then, the military are restless, the pro-Moscow communists conspire with the Libya-financed revolutionary committees and the two Ba'th parties oriented towards Syria and Iraq, a civil war does not permit the country to get some peace, democratic politicians have nothing better to do than to be suspicious of one another and to insult one another, and, the same as then, the country has a democratically legitimized prime minister who lacks the strength to prevail and to solve even one of the country's big problems; this is also true after the swearing-in of the new coalition government in which only seven of the former ministers retained their offices.

There are many such problems. One is the civil war in the south. The guerrilla force calling itself SPLA of the deserted Colonel John Garang wouldn't dream of negotiations, gains ground and influence in alliance with time, even though southern Sudan is more and more destroyed and one third of the population is already uprooted. Garang's SPLA refers to an agreement which it made in March 1986 with the leaders of the democratic parties according to which a constitutional conference was supposed to meet in June 1986 in Khartoum with substantial SPLA participation. Al-Sadiq al Mahdi, the prime minister, did not adhere to that agreement. The SPLA rebellion which had started in 1983 against the then dictator, Field Marshal Numayri, despite all denials is probably being supported by Ethiopia which thus wanted to create a form of pressure against Sudan's support of the North Ethiopian rebels, support which has lasted for over 20 years.

Garang allegedly wants political reform in all of Sudan; but his followers in the south were never really interested in state unity with

the north, have never asked for it. Decisions were always made in the north, first by the British-Egyptian colonial power, then by the Arab majority in the north, in other words by those for whom southern Sudan last century was the reservation for slave hunting and since then has continued to be a neglected object of exploitation. Lately, and that is a positive sign, there is of course talk in the north, too, of a possible partitioning of the south, thus far a taboo. General Siwar-al-Dhahab, chief of the transition government from Numayri's overthrow in 1985 to the 1986 elections, has taken up the question on TV and newspapers in Khartoum have picked up the topic.

A partitioning of Sudan, with 2.5 million square kilometers almost as big as India, into Arab Islamic north and a Black African-Nilotic south with a pagan-Christian population would eliminate one of the permanent centers of war in Africa. Siwar-al-Dhahab is a leader of the Democratic Unionist Party, the party of the moderate Islamic Khatmiya sect, the rather liberal party of civil servants, intellectuals, merchants, the middle class. Their foreign policy goal of cooperation and even amalgamation with Egypt--therefore Unionist--could indeed be more easily accomplished if the inhibiting Black Africans were not part of it.

If Khartoum and the south agreed on partitioning, that would not be a secession and the approval--although certain--of the OAS would not even be necessary. However, the Unionists last year obtained only 64 of the 264 seats up for election, but al-Sadiq al-Mahdi with his conservative Ummah Party, 100. Ummah, the party of the strictly Islamic Ansar sect with its base among the rural population of the West, for historical reasons is more opposed to Egypt; al-Sadiq's great grandfather Mohamed Ahmed, the first Mahdi, had led the Sudanese independence struggle against Turkish-Egyptian-British rule from 1881 to his death in 1885. Ummah does not want to release the south, but it wants to convert it to Islam. Thus it will take 10 years or more until a partitioning of the Sudan will take place.

With all that, the country can afford a civil war as little as other African countries. With a per capita national product of \$360 the 23 million inhabitants are not the very poorest Africans but the country's \$11 billion debt is so high that it can no longer even pay the installments due IMF and therefore has been deleted from the IMF aid list over a year ago. The fund wants to review its position only after Sudan has instituted urgently needed economic reforms. The coalition government with 8 Ummah and 6 Unionist ministers and 6 ministers from south Sudanese splinter groups could not bring themselves to do so. His ministers, al-Sadiq complained on TV, are incompetent, failed to accomplish their tasks, only quarreled among themselves instead of taking care of their departments.

But neither has al-Sadiq, who on account of the domestic policy reality is the only imaginable chief of government, shown himself to be a decisive leader of a difficult coalition government. Not only does he avoid a decision on talks with the SPLA, he also does not dare to make a statement to the IMF. But especially he has not made any moves to replace the controversial Islamic legal system by--as he had promised in the government declaration--"another interpretation of the Koran." The Koranic law, the shari'ah, was introduced over the entire country by Numayri in 1983, also in the non-Islamic south. That was the outward cause for the SPLA rebellion and one of the causes why Numayri lost his power 1-1/2 years later.

The dismissal of his entire cabinet was not supposed to be the end of the coalition according to al-Sadiq's intention. Actually the country can only be governed democratically if the--now newly formed--coalition of the two big parties is continued. Neither the Ummah Party nor the Unionist party finds enough support among the splinter parties to form a government against the other big party. The party of the Moslem Brotherhood led by Hassan al-Turabi, the National Islamic Front, is not capable of participating in a coalition. It is radical religious, not willing to compromise, wants to answer all questions on the basis of the Koran, even by force and is unable to do so. On account of the leadership weakness of the prime minister, doubts are in order whether the life of the cabinet that has now been sworn in will be long. Sudan's future looks even bleaker than heretofore.

12356

CSO: 4620/32

FRG DEVELOPMENTAL PROJECTS DISCUSSED

Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 5 Jun 87 p 10

[Article by Klaus Otto Nass: "To Merely Distribute Foodstuffs Can Even Do Harm"]

[Text] Khartoum--Their lodgings had not yet been built and nothing had been prepared in anticipation of their arrival when farmer Norbert Burger and nurse Karin Busch entered the African village of Inderabiro, where at the beginning of the year an "integrated agricultural project" had begun under the sponsorship of the Land of Lower Saxony and the Deutsche Welthungerhilfe [German World Hunger Relief]. This village is south of the Sudanese border town of El Geneina, in the region of the Massalit tribe, which extends over the border into Chad. Burger, the project leader, was not a stranger in the village; he had brought food to the people north of El Geneina in the time of the great famine, from February to November 1985. Karin Busch had worked in the same region for the Komitee Deutscher Notaerzte [Committee of German Emergency Physicians]. Without development-aid workers who can gain the trust of the local residents, small projects are doomed to failure. But such developmental projects in agriculture are precisely what are needed in a country such as Sudan, where small farmers make up the majority of the population (70 to 80 percent). Only the person who has their trust will win them over to supporting a better utilization of the land, will be able to convince them that the banks of the river that becomes a raging torrent during the rainy season must be fortified, that in the fields the practice of crop rotation must be introduced, but that it is not at all necessary to cut down every tree, that vegetables must be cultivated and watered better, and that legumes must be planted whose long roots push through the compact clay layers above the ground water and thus make the soil fertile.

But also the basic political conditions must be right if a project is to be successful. In Inderabiro, they are not right at present. A sack of millet (45 kilograms) is being sold at 5 marks. Relief shipments from Europe are depressing the prices. Thereby the Sudanese government, which is striving to stabilize grain prices by means of wholesale buy-ups, is being overstrained because of the vast amounts of grain coming in. Money, transport capacities, and storage capacities are lacking. But when the farmer cannot be certain of a minimum profit, why should he produce beyond his own needs? Thus, should this project that is supposed to encourage production, and which also includes

the completion of a hospital clinic and the rebuilding of the village school, be postponed until the agricultural prices have risen or until the next drought comes? Even without good basic conditions, the German team is doing useful work: Ovens that are to be made out of clay and that economize on wood are being introduced, water wells are being sunk, and in the gardens pertaining to the project an attempt is being made to grow new plants suited to the area.

When the initial preliminary studies were made for the project in the autumn of 1984, hunger and refugee distress were approaching their peak. Not all the refugees have returned to Chad as yet. The United Nations high commissioner on refugees has closed some encampments in western and eastern Sudan along its borders with Chad and Ethiopia. This year he hopes he will need to use only half of his funds for the feeding and medical care of the refugees, and be able to spend the other half for development aid. But private aid organizations, which often feel at home only in activities of goods distribution, are still in the country. And there are still encampments or settlements whose residents lead an easier life than the Sudanese in their vicinities, because the former are furnished with food on a regular basis, even including high-quality foods such as sugar and oil, whose prices are often beyond the means of simple farmers. This situation is leading to tensions. But it is not the case that the population and administration desire the withdrawal of all the refugees indiscriminately. The traditionally tolerant basic attitude of the Sudanese is being intermingled with the experience that for other towns in the vicinity of the refugee camps as well, something or other is gained. Thus, the border town of El Geneina, which 3 years ago was still remote from development aid and Western influences, has begun to change its character. Many Sudanese now think that the white man is rich enough to supply not only food but also new equipment, when their old equipment breaks down. Here and there, an attitude of expectation is appearing, which makes it difficult to truly convert aid into self-help in developmental projects. It is time for the mere distributing of food and other aid commodities to stop, when after the famine it has proved possible to bring in good harvests; the encampments should be reduced in size and remain reserved for political refugees only. But who can distinguish these from the others who fled from the drought over the borders to Sudan because of hunger (as well as possibly other reasons)?

In Sudan, things will not be quite the same again as before the drought. Along the Nile, refugees have settled for whom the high commissioner on refugees is responsible; they did not come across the nation's borders, but from the Sudanese region of Kordofan--they were nomads who lost their livestock during the great drought of the years 1984/85 and who now lead a less toilsome although no longer so free a life as farmhands or houseworkers. In the mountains near the Red Sea, nomads of the Beja tribes are seeking to get through the time until their herds have replenished themselves again by cutting down the trees and selling the charcoal from them.

With the temporary end to the past extraordinary dry period, the African environmental catastrophe has by no means been checked. This catastrophe is the work of human beings. In the Marra mountains in Darfur, other forest and pasture areas have been burned down this spring. Perhaps the charred

trees will nevertheless leaf out again, with a robustness that nature has led them to acquire. But the sight of forest areas burned down all around one for a distance of some kilometers can be discouraging. It is said that the governor has ordered fines for felling green trees, and it is added that these fines do not apply to the cutting down of charred timber. It is difficult for the foreigner to understand this attitude.

In the vicinity of this, a dam is being built in a narrow, rocky mountain stream. How is it that it is almost solely women who are willing to do this work, that some of them have come from as far away as a 3-days' march in order to build a dam by working 10 hours a day in return for the locally meager wage and a ration of sugar, oil, or milk powder--a dam that blocks up the water that always used to flow past the mountain village uselessly during the short rainy season?

So-called women's programs have become fashionable in the development-aid discussion. It is true, after all, that in Africa in particular the women often have to carry the heavy burden. But also some development-aid workers shrink back from interfering in the socio-religious structure of the family and the role of women. The dam project in Jebel Marra was planned not as a women's program, but as a program for supplying water. But since women are the ones almost exclusively who are reporting for work, at the same time it has probably become the largest women's program in Sudan at present. It is not the men, but the women who are earning the money here.

"Aid for the aim of self-help" is easier said than done. Perhaps it would be better to say "aid in conjunction with self-help" or even "aid following self-help," as in Tadamon, 300 kilometers north of Khartoum. There, the spiritual leader of the Kadmia sect, El Sayed Mohammed Osman El Mirghani, recently inaugurated a hospital whose construction had been financed by the residents from their own collected funds. Only when it was finished did Lower Saxony supply the furnishings and the medical equipment. The inauguration turned into a public festival. In many speeches, the self-help efforts of the inhabitants of the Nile Valley were extolled, but so were the efforts of those volunteers who not merely had furnished the equipment, but had unpacked and set it up jointly with the Sudanese, who had repaired the transport-caused damage, and above all who had lived for a few weeks with the residents of the village.

12114

CSO: 4620/31

PRO-IRAQI JOURNAL ALLEGES IRANIAN MEDDLING IN RELIGIOUS MOVEMENT

London AL-DUSTUR in Arabic 8 Jun 87 pp 17-19

[Article by Slami Hosseini: "Tunisia after the Latest Developments: Awaiting the National Charter"]

[Text] The developments Tunisia witnessed in the last week of majestic Ramadan have proved the truth and credibility of the reports and information we published in AL-DUSTUR at the outset of the recent Tunisian incidents, and the analyses and positive criticisms of the ruling party and the authorities concerned which these reports contained, especially in Nos 479 and 480, have been given heed. In this regard, we have the right to point out that in addition to the reprinting of AL-DUSTUR's reports in the local media, it appears that the Tunisian government has viewed the contents of these reports with much attention, especially as far as two important points are concerned. The first is that the religious tendency does not have a single command, as some people imagined at the beginning of March, when the overt leaders of this tendency were arrested; rather, it has a number of leaders, one of whom was exposed recently. The second point is that the confrontation with extremism cannot just take place through reliance on the literal application of the law and the use of "technical solutions." It is necessary that this confrontation also be concentrated on political considerations by opening a constructive dialogue with the opposition movements, which must understand that they are also facing the dangers of extremism. In reality, the pardons the Tunisian government issued in the last week of the month of Ramadan concerning a number of opposition movements and personnel form part of this approach.

This report tries to offer answers to questions which are still being raised among Tunisian men in the political street in the light of the recent events and changes. Does the unearthing of the religious tendency's secret organization command headquarters mean that the authorities have stifled the movement of extremism and severed its roots? Have the opposition movements understood, quickly enough, the positive steps the government took recently and consequently intends to exploit? What, moreover, are the conditions for bringing about a political relaxation in Tunisia?

In the last week of the majestic month of Ramadan, Tunis the capital seemed mostly preoccupied with the traditional preparations which occur in

conjunction with the days of Lesser Bayram, and did not, as people who view Tunisian conditions from abroad imagine, seem preoccupied with what is going on on the political stage, especially as regards the exposure of new hideouts belonging to the Khomeyni tendency movement. This is for a simple reason, which is that this movement no longer provokes the attention of the man in the street, for the reason that throughout the month of Ramadan it tried to hold demonstrations from time to time without any result and without stirring up the attention of anyone, except for those who are concerned with political developments.

While the government pursued a new style in confronting "Khomeynism" which did not stop at intensifying the application of the law and the performance of searches and investigations to reveal the secret Khomeyni tendency movement organization, the personnel in this tendency continued to follow the same tactics that had been drawn up before, embodied in the continuation of psychological war by means of street gatherings, attempts to demonstrate and the spread of rumors. The only change that has occurred in these "tactics" is the "religious movement's" use of primary and secondary school children in these demonstrations in order to attract people's attention on the one hand and confront the security forces, which might not attack children, on the other. This change in tactics did not in reality arise from planning for confrontation so much as from organizational planning. The religious tendency's secret organization is made up of different, diverse policies. In addition to the pyramidal structure there is the proliferation of leaders, so that when leaders are arrested the following leaders take their place with the means, headquarters, resources and ready personnel they have. In addition to that, there is another organization which runs counter to this sort of pyramidal breakdown of the organization, and that is embodied in branch commands arranged by activities, areas of specialization, locations, areas, social levels and so forth, such as the women's, student and labor organizations and the organization of merchants, pupils in schools and institutes.

Wings of Tactics!

This organizational interconnection is what has caused the religious tendency movement to continue its activities and apportion entanglements with the government in spite of the arrests and security blockade, with reliance on secrecy, rapid movement and the material resources available to it. For this reason, when Rached Ghannouchi, the overt leader of the movement, and the people with him were arrested, a number of observers said that the security authorities arrested only the people whom the religious tendency had planned to have arrested, for the reason that Rached Ghannouchi had given a provocative sermon in the al-Wardiyah mosque before his arrest, as if he actually wanted his arrest to occur. Then after that a succession of arrests took place. The religious tendency controlled them and knew how to deal with them, until finally its central hideouts in Tunis the capital were exposed and the police came upon propaganda equipment, small arms and large amounts of money in them.

It is clear from the information authoritative circles have mentioned and published on the process by which these hideouts were exposed that the police, perhaps for the first time, directed painful blows at the Khomeynists,

because this secret organization did not expect these secret headquarters to be exposed. Here AL-DUSTUR can assert that the secret headquarters which were discovered were no more than a hideout concerned with the region of Tunis the capital, and concerned with the student wing as well, to the exclusion of others. Perhaps the authorities concerned have started to be convinced today that the religious tendency has, within past years, with unquestioned foreign assistance, built a state within the state as part of a plan to take power by force. If this is the case, as far as the plan or the nature of the secret organization is concerned, it is certain that the religious tendency movement has other wings which are still unknown and that all the situation entails is that the security authorities have, so far at least, exposed the important part of this secret organization, which is essentially operating in the area of agitation. The other section, which is working in other areas, is still unknown. The religious tendency is known to rely on various organizational levels. There are the "sweepers," which they call the propaganda and proselytization society, a society whose task is to proselytize the organization's principles. To the public and to specialists, this seems to resemble a society to enjoin what is good and forbid what is evil. There also are secret organization branches apart from the student sectors and school students, such as the labor sector and the women's sector, and perhaps within a number of the agencies of the government itself as well. Here is where the difficulties the specialized security agencies are facing lie, because these agencies cannot arrest everyone who engages in religious observances; rather, they content themselves with people who exploit religion for political purposes. It appears that the government has diagnosed such difficulties and has realized that the "technical" solution, that is, the one which relies only on the application of the law alone, does not suffice, but that it is necessary to bolster these legal measures with important political steps, because the whole society must assume the cause of fighting "religious extremism," and this task should not remain only an area of competence of the government agencies or the resources of the ruling Destourian Socialist Party.

The Government and the Opposition

For this reason, perhaps, President Bourguiba has pardoned Habib Achour, the former union leader, and also issued a pardon for the Progressive Socialist Grouping members the courts sentenced to prison for a period of 6 months for maintaining a society that was not recognized, as well as postponing the trial of Khemais Chamari until an unspecified time. While the pardon of Habib Achour and the members of the socialist grouping constitute an element in the opening of the gates of political relaxation to the "democratic opposition" so that it can assume the responsibility of confronting religious extremism, the postponement of Khemais Chamari's trial is significant in more than one sense. Primarily, Chamari belongs to the Movement of Socialist Democrats, which has not frankly declared its condemnation of religious extremism but whose positions rather are more inclined toward support of the religious tendency and solidarity with it. The postponement of the trial might be a way of leaving the door open to this movement and consequently Ahmed Mestiri, who was not included in the pardon, to change position regarding the religious tendency movement. While such measures "of relaxation" are being announced with respect to (democratic) opposition movements,

preparation is being made in full force to bring the extremist religious tendency to trial. There are expectations that these trials will take place soon before the state security court. However, the incidents indicate that these trials will be postponed perhaps till after the summer for a basic reason, which is that the security authorities have not yet closed the file on the investigation, as every day has revealed new personnel and hideouts belonging to this Khomeynist movement. However, in awaiting the trial, numerous political circles in Tunisia pose the following question: will the opposition review its positions on the Khomeynist tendency and shift from positions of support to positions of condemnation?

The recognized Tunisian opposition movements, aside from a minority which essentially is represented by nationalists, still view the religious tendency as a political movement within the other opposition movements and consider that "solidarity with it" is necessary. This position previously arose from misunderstanding and an erroneous evaluation and analysis of the real goals and objectives of the religious tendency. This position also emerged as an embodiment of this mentality which prevailed, and was embodied in support for everyone opposed to the existing regime, whatever their goals and roots were, under the slogan "whoever is against the existing regime is part of the opposition." It has become apparent that such a mentality and such a slogan involve a great blunder and involve a great threat to the country, the republican system, the institutions of the government and democracy.

Embarrassing Questions

Since the arrest of the leaders of the religious tendency last March the Tunisian opposition movements have been asked to answer embarrassing questions, among them: Is everyone who declares his opposition to the existing regime a democrat, and must he be supported? Is the goal democracy or enmity to the regime? Is the action of the political opposition directed against the republican system or against the program of the Destourian Socialist Party government? Are all the means for engaging in political activity in the ranks of the opposition legitimate? Without a doubt, just posing such questions confronts the opposition movements with a difficult choice, between exercising political activity within the existing laws and institutions and consequently condemning and disavowing violence, or violating the laws, institutions and republican system and pursuing the path of violence of different types! Without a doubt, it is not possible to combine the two platforms and it is not possible to reconcile the path of legitimacy with the path of violence. This presents the political movements in Tunisia, whether they are in the opposition or in the government, with the premise that they agree on two principles, first condemning and disavowing everything that violates the legitimacy and laws of the republican system, and second setting out a code of honor for democratic action which will clearly outline the laws of the democratic game, so that all the political movements in the country which endorse the legitimacy of the republic will commit themselves to non-recourse to violence and resistance to everyone who engages in it. Within the current conditions, it is apparent that the conditions President Bourguiba mentioned before the Destourian Socialist Party conference in 1983, prior to the official recognition of certain political parties, represent an important background for the democratic charter, at least in the

current stage, because unless there are a background and a charter that have been agreed to by all the people who want to engage in political activity under the aegis of republican legitimacy, Tunisia will remain a fertile arena for movements which in reality are aimed at overthrowing the republican system, even allying themselves with the devil, especially since it has been proved that a movement like that of the religious tendency has more than one tie to the Iranian regime and has the aim not just of bringing down the republican system but also of building a shadowy, alien regime which they call the regime of the guardianship of the religious jurist.

Dangers from Iran

One cannot say that Tunisia is not threatened now since the security authorities have stifled Khomeynist extremism, because the roots of this tendency and its secret organizations are still in being inside and outside Tunisia, and the foreign parties which are supporting them are still insisting on directly intervening in internal Tunisian affairs and embracing this religious tendency for the reason that the Iranian government since last March began mobilizing its media resources in service of the extremist religious tendency movement in Tunisia. Therefore closing the doors to foreign intervention in Tunisian affairs, Khomeynist extremism and violence and everything that is opposed to democratic action is not just embodied in relying on technical and security methods and is not embodied in relying on the political measures the government is performing; rather, the responsibility that lies on the opposition movements also seems great, if they really are concerned that the tree of democracy, which is still in its infancy, flourish in Tunisia. It was an egregious error for the opposition movements not to respond to the appeal of the prime minister, Rachid Sfar, last March to seek common means for confronting religious extremism, and it was also an error for the five opposition parties to meet to issue a statement not frankly condemning this tendency and the threats of violence looming over the country. It will also now be an error for the opposition movements not to raise on high the slogan of the "democratic minimum" among all the parties in the country, including the Destourian Socialist Party, by setting out and signing a democratic charter including these parties' undertaking not to resort to violence, to resist violence and respect the laws, institutions and government of the republican system. Thus they will not so much be engaged in support for the government of the Destourian party as offering the people real guarantees that they tenaciously adhere to democracy and are not just marginal movements which have no concern with regard to political activity but to rule, under whatever banner it might be. The opposition movements will also have to offer proof that there is no place in Tunisia for the guardianship of the religious jurist.

When this democratic charter is realized and all democrats agree to it, the state of enmity between the ruling party and the opposition parties will turn into a state of democratic competition, and the political crisis in the country will turn into a mere political struggle governed by laws and limits, anyone in violation of which will be hostile to democracy and isolated from the society. In any event, effecting such a charter is not impossible since one of the leaders of the legitimate opposition, Mr Ahmed Mestiri, had declared a charter of freedoms some years ago which his movement, the Socialist Democrats, had prepared, and whose sections affirm the need to organize democratic activity.

MUSLIM INTERVIEWS MUJAHIDIN LEADER RABBANI

BK121122 Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 20 May 87 pp 1, 8

[Text] Islamabad, May 19: "The Mujahidin are ready to talk directly to the Soviets but the Russians must overcome their empty pride and recognise the reality of the Mujahidin," says Afghan resistance leader Professor Burhanuddin Rabbani. In an interview with THE MUSLIM at his party office in Islamabad, the head of the Jamiyat-e Eslami discussed a wide range of issues dealing with war and peace in Afghanistan. The articulate and softspoken leader spoke in Persian in his characteristic professorial style, helped by an interpreter. Extracts from the interview:

Question: In a recent speech, you said the Soviets are trying to achieve on the political level what they failed to get militarily in Afghanistan. But surely the Afghan Mujahidin also cannot expect to achieve on any negotiating table what they have been unable to win on the battlefield.

Answer: You are right that the problem cannot be solved militarily because defeating the military machine of a Superpower like Russia is not easy. But we have only two choices, either to (fight for) freedom or (submit to) slavery. For freedom we are seeking political means. We are ready to talk to the Russians directly. The Russians should overcome the empty pride that they have. They must recognize the reality of the Mujahidin. They (Soviets) tell the Pakistanis to recognise the reality of (Dr) Najib's regime, which is not actually established. If it was stable, why would Russian troops be there? But the Mujahidin are a reality they must recognise. They must talk directly with the Mujahidin. We believe this is in the interest of peace and also in the interest of the Russians themselves. Because the further the war continues, more Russians will be killed and their problems will multiply. So we want to talk directly with the Russians and we are also ready to accept two of our neighbouring countries, Pakistan and Iran in such direct talks.

Question: If what is called the Zahir Shah option for peace in Afghanistan becomes a serious possibility and appears as the only viable one, what will be your position, especially if one were to see the ex-King's future role as a caretaker one in an interim administration, rather than in a full-fledged interim government?

Answer: There are two points. First, the way that Zahir Shah's return has been proposed, which comes mainly from Russian circles is not for resolving the problem. The Russians have certain aims and one of them has been to create disunity in the Mujahidin alliance. Thank God that did not happen. But there are other problems. We do not see Zahir Shah having the capability to administer an administration. And although there are a number of people who support Zahir Shah, there are many others who consider him responsible for atrocities and the catastrophe that our people are facing today. Because he was the one who let the communists become active. There is no lack of leadership in Afghanistan. Other people can be found. There should be a new system, a new administration and new faces. We feel that is neither in the interest of Afghanistan nor in the interest of peace. And also as we understand it, Zahir Shah will not play this gamble until the Mujahidin accept him.

Question: How do you respond to the Soviet wish for continuity between the present Kabul regime and a future government, in a peace package, which implies the participation of some Communist figures in a future government in Afghanistan?

Answer: We believe this is not in the interest of peace. People responsible for atrocities cannot be included in an administration which is supposed to bring peace and a just solution of the problem. We think that rather than political manoeuvres there should be a serious effort to solve the problem in a just manner. The Mujahidin should give assurances and guarantees that there will be no massacre, and the Russians would give assurances that they will not interfere in the affairs of Afghanistan.

Question: What then do you see as the realistic way to peace? Can you elaborate on your idea of an interim administration as outlined in a speech you made earlier?

Answer: The first step is to dissolve the (present) regime, especially the military, police and KHAD (the Afghan secret service). The Cabinet should be dissolved. The deputy ministers could carry on the affairs of the ministries for an interim period. A team of previous military men, especially generals, lawyers and workers of the Ministry of Justice could be appointed and they can have someone as their head. They would not be a government but form an interim administration responsible for internal security. It would have military power, but only be armed with light weapons.

The heavy weapons could be stored. They will not enter into (international) agreements or send out ambassadors. The Mujahidin will give the assurance that they will not take any action against the administration or the Russians during the period of withdrawal. And also there can be international observers from Pakistan and Iran, other Muslim countries and maybe, the U.N. After the withdrawal of Soviet troops there will be elections, a new constitution will be written for Afghanistan and a new government will be formed. But these are preliminary proposals, and the coalition (alliance) will discuss them.

Question: What can the Soviets do to concretely demonstrate to you their sincerity and seriousness about wanting to withdraw their troops from Afghanistan?

Answer: They can start by decreasing the war and starting to withdraw their troops. This would be the most just way of showing a gesture. The Russians have been concentrating their attacks on the areas that the Mujahidin have been able to develop some kind of local administration. If Russians withdraw their troops from those areas, peace and security will come to such areas. As you know Russian agents, the communists, are concentrated only in Kabul. So if they withdraw from 28 provinces, peace and security will come there. The only problem then will be in Kabul.

Question: In a recent speech you spoke of a propaganda offensive by the Soviets and you also suggested this had been quite successful globally. Do you, as a result of this, fear a weakening of international support for the Mujahidin?

Answer: The propaganda was well-planned and was launched all at once. So it took the whole world, even the Mujahidin, by surprise. People thought that probably the Russians were sincere. But with the passage of time, and what happened after that, shows that they are not sincere. The Russians were not able to come up with any concrete plans or programme for the withdrawal of their troops. So this fact together with the Mujahidins' attempts to nullify Russians propaganda has resulted in making this issue an old one. And once it becomes old, it loses its effectiveness.

Question: How significant a difference to the war has the supply of Stinger missiles made?

Answer: As the reports of the shooting down of Russian planes shows, they have been significant all over. Compared to last year there might be some increase (in Soviet aircraft shot down) this year, but this is due more to greater Mujahidin activity and probably also due to the Russians using their airforce much more.

Question: Although the idea of an elected Shura or Council of the Seven-Party Mujahidin alliance is an old one why was the need felt now to press ahead with it?

Answer: You are right the proposal was there for some time, but it takes time for a process to reach a particular point. Also the Mujahidin feel that they need a stronger unity.

Question: What are your views on the statement by Hezb-e Eslami leader Mawlawi Yunus Khalis in which he said women will not have the right to vote for such a Shura.

Answer: He was probably referring to the difficulties, in existing conditions, for women to vote.

DPRA: ZAHIR SHAH SAYS SOLUTION POSSIBLE WITH GORBACHEV

PM161450 Paris LE FIGARO in French 15 Jun 87 p 4

[Unattributed report: "'A Solution Exists With Gorbachev' Says Former King Zahir Shah of Afghanistan"]

[Text] Afghanistan's King Zahir Shah, the 10th sovereign of the Barak Zai dynasty, has lived in exile in Italy since the 1973 coup d'etat that brought the democratic monarchy to an end and brought the king's stepbrother and cousin, President Dawad, to power. Zahir Shah has just granted General Copel an interview, published by the monthly DEFENSE ACTIVE (161, rue du President Roosevelt, 78100 Saint-germain-en-laye--LE FIGARO editor's note). The document is of particular interest because Mikhail Gorbachev recently told L'UNITA, in an allusion to the former sovereign, that "Afghan representatives at present in Italy" could play a role in the quest for a political solution to the Afghan crisis. Furthermore, Afghan leader Najibullah announced yesterday that he is willing to engage in talks with Zahir Shah's supporters. We publish below a summary of the remarks made to General Copel:

Question: You were regent from 1933 through 1953 and king from 1963 through 1973: When did you perceive the Soviet threat?

Answer: Afghanistan's very special geographical position forced us always to concern ourselves with our powerful neighbors. Our policy of neutrality and nonalignment was based on goodneighborly relations with the USSR and on noninterference and mutual respect. This policy, pursued by all Afghan governments since 1919, should theoretically have guaranteed us some security....

Question: At the time of the invasion by Soviet troops most "experts" believed that the Afghan resistance could last no more than a matter of weeks. Were you more optimistic?

Answer: Being acquainted with the Afghan people's innate courage and their attachment to their religious and national values, I was sure that they would resolutely resist the foreign invasion, as in the past.

Question: In your opinion, what are the underlying reasons for your people's fanatical resistance?

Answer: Faith, patriotism, a sense of honor, and the love of freedom....

Question: What do you believe would be the Soviets' best bet?

Answer: Now, under Mikhail Gorbachev, the Soviets' best bet would be to seek a political solution acceptable to the Afghan people. We believe that such a solution exists with Mikhail Gorbachev.

Question: What, on the other hand, would be the biggest mistake the Soviets could make?

Answer: To persist with an unjust and cruel war.

Question: Do you believe that the negotiations between the present Kabul regime and Pakistan can produce any result?

Answer: These negotiations would have to be extended further to include all the sides really involved.

Question: Do you approve of the stubbornness of the resistance movements toward the Kabul authorities' ceasefire proposals?

Answer: Any serious ceasefire proposal can only make sense within the context of an acceptable political solution. Under the prevailing conditions, which still exist, the resistance had no other choice.

Question: Do you believe, as Sun Tzu wrote 2,000 years ago, that you must never leave your enemy an honorable "way out?" Do you believe the Soviets should be allowed such a possibility?

Answer: Sun Tzu's thoughts still deserve to be deeply pondered!

Question: A great many Afghans believe that you are the only one who can rally your nation together and avert splits. Would you be willing to resume responsibilities in order to rebuild your country after so many years of war?

Answer: Without laying any personal claims, I am entirely and unconditionally at the service of my Afghan homeland in its heroic struggle to restore national independence and our people's freedoms and right to self-determination.

/8309

CSO: 4600/253

BRIEFS

FORMER AFGHAN KING ON NAJIBULLAH--(ANSA) Rome, 16 (no month)--A spokesman for the former King of Afghanistan Zahir Shah said here on Monday that the ex-monarch, who lives in exile in Rome, will respond "certainly by tomorrow" (Tuesday) to statements made recently by Afghan Communist strongman Najibullah on the possibility of working together to resolve the political crisis in Afghanistan, that began with the 1979 Soviet invasion. [Excerpt] [Rome ANSA in English 1044 GMT 16 Jun 87] /8309

CSO: 4600/253

DELHI NEWSPAPER BLAMES POLICE FOR MEERUT VIOLENCE

BK021029 Delhi INDIAN EXPRESS in English 27 May 87 p 6

[Editorial: "When Will We Learn?"]

[Text] In just a few days the violence in a single city -- Meerut -- has already claimed over 110 dead. The extent and pattern of killing, of arson, of hatred reflect the ever deepening problems of our State, of our society. Meerut has often witnessed communal flare-ups in recent years. But the acts of violence hitherto used to be confined largely to the walled city. We all assumed that it was easy for rabid elements to set it aflame at the slightest provocation. But this time the communal frenzy that first held familiar parts of the city in its grip spread quickly to the outskirts. New residential colonies, by no means congested, soon became the targets of arsonists and looters. And now, what is even more ominous, the adjoining rural areas, too, are being sucked into this vortex of violence. The most disturbing symptom has been the traumatic experience of the hamlet of Mallian, ten kilometres from Meerut city. Its 2,000 inhabitants have had a hard time escaping from the clutches of a platoon of an arm of the State itself, the Provincial Armed Constabulary. The discovery of sixteen bodies in the Hindon canal in Ghaziabad, Noida and the Delhi suburb of Kalyanpuri is further proof of the widening trail of death and destruction in the wake of the outbreak of violence in Meerut. And as reports of mounting tension in the neighboring towns of Muzaffarnagar, Modinagar and Hapur come in, no one knows when the authorities will manage to restore a semblance of order. It is not that this time round or in general the killings and riots are "pre-planned". But hundreds seem to be perpetually prepared for them -- with arms, with networks of associates with means of communication. And these networks seem to be beyond the reach of, in many ways more "efficient" than the machinery of the State.

The things that need to be done have been listed ad nauseum -- the police should be reformed and reculturated; people should feel involved in the affairs of the community; we should prevent politicians and priests from misusing places of worship; the ever-widening nexus of criminals across cities should be smashed; the nexus of criminals and politicians, and now priests, must be broken; our leaders must be such that the community listens and responds to them; as one cannot set a policeman to check every person and a policeman to check every policeman and therefore as governments can run only when the people hold them in esteem, our governments must be legitimate.

All this has been listed time and again, but we have almost given up the attempt to attend to these fundamentals. Our horizons have shortened. At each moment we are relieved if only we can get through the latest, the present crisis. And yet these fundamentals are what have to be attended to. And that can be done only by more and better persons devoting themselves to public and community life. How much greater travail will the country have to bear before that happens?

/12624

CSO: 4600/1785

PROBLEMS OF FOREIGN POLICY, U.S. RELATIONS EXAMINED

Lahore NAWA-I-WAQT in Urdu 17 May 87 p 10

[Editorial: "Foreign Policy Crisis"]

[Text] The venerable Muslim League politician Mian Mumtaz Daultana has said in an interview that the dangers that Pakistan faces externally are greater than those it faces internally, so we should be concerned about the external dangers. Our role in the confrontation between the two superpowers, however, is not one of independence and neutrality; rather, our role is that of a puppet. Therefore, in any superpower confrontation, we will incur a loss. The fears and dangers that Mian Caultana pointed out in his brief analysis of Pakistan's current foreign policy are not hidden from any eye. The fact is that with the 1979 entry of Soviet forces in Afghanistan and the communist revolution in Kabul, Pakistan, due to its geopolitical position, became a part of the global conflict. As an Islamic and neighboring country, during the Afghan Muslims' struggle and trial, Pakistan has had to cooperate fully with them. This very sense of responsibility borne by Pakistan has also become its greatest sin. As its punishment, therefore, Afghan and Soviet aircraft, violating Pakistani airspace every other day, have engaged in deadly bombing.

Through agents of Khad, bombs were exploded in Peshawar and its surrounding areas. Now, the province of Punjab, too, is in the grip of such explosions, and a lot of precious innocent blood is being shed. The matter does not conclude here. Rather, in order to weaken Pakistan's ideological foundations, confused thinking is being provoked. Sectarian prejudices are being induced. Seeds of factional, linguistic, racial, regional and provincial hatreds are being sowed. It is natural that Pakistan, in order to avoid this major calamity and destruction, has undertaken some essential measures on its own initiative. The free world has commended Pakistan's stand based on truth and justice. In one way, it could be perceived as a success of Pakistan's foreign policy that it has achieved success in persuading friendly countries of the need to strengthen its defense and economy. On the other hand, however, precisely this has also proved to be a threat to us. Because, while America and various other countries have provided Pakistan with military and economic aid, at the same time, Pakistan has had to give a lot in return. Also, part of the quid pro quo, our neutrality and supreme authority have been disgraced. Pointing to this fact, Mian Daultana also said that in global politics, Pakistan's

role is that of a mere stooge. And while the American leaders announced after the Afghan issue arose that they would grant Pakistan a key status in their foreign policy, this announcement covered only one specific point, and in fact, Pakistan did not come under the shelter of the "American umbrella." The irony is that the stand that Pakistan adopted with regard to the Afghan-istan issue, except to a few countries, was in conformity with the stand maintained by the rest of the free world. Unfortunately, however, everybody believed that Pakistan was merely following American policy. All the harm accruing from this propaganda fell into Pakistan's lap. Pakistan, during all these years, has fully cooperated to find an honorable and acceptable solution to this problem through dialogue on the political level; every time, it sincerely participated in the Geneva talks held under the supervision of the United Nations; and it made every effort to take advantage of the Soviet Union's recent reconciliation proposal, but like the saying that "many ambitions go unfulfilled," the response to Pakistan's positive attitude was brutal bombing of Tari Maingal, as a result of which more than 200 persons were martyred. Again, there was a dreadful bomb explosion in Gari Qamar Din. This cycle of bombing, shelling and explosion still continues. It is evident, therefore, that the Soviet proposal for reconciliation lacks sincerity. On the other hand, Pakistan now faces problems from America as well. Despite having to suffer the taunt of being the "American puppet," American officials are ignoring the justifiable defensive needs of Pakistan. Rather, all sorts of obstacles are being raised to approval of a \$4.2 billion aid package for the next 4 years. Under the pretext of an alleged nuclear program, ever new conditions are being stipulated, and ruthless use is being made of the Symington amendment. Pakistan is in urgent need of AWACS aircraft to stop the daily intervention of Afghan aircraft. But being under the influence of the Jewish and Indian lobby, the American administration is showing hesitation in this regard. On the other hand, with the acquisition of AWACS aircraft, we would face various other dangers. The Soviet Union has already warned that these aircraft would increase tension in the region. Previously, Pakistan had granted the Budbair base near Peshawar for use by U.S. U-2 aircraft. Pakistan had to face innumerable problems when a U-2 aircraft was shot down inside the Soviet Union. Now again, a threat exists precisely because of a similar sort of delicate situation.

Under such circumstances, therefore, today Pakistan is facing a foreign policy crisis. It is taunted with being a puppet of America. Some also say that Pakistan is promoting American interests in the region. Nevertheless, America is not even treating Pakistan like an ally or a friend, not to mention being its puppet. The various types of conditions that the U.S. House of Representatives wishes to impose on the future aid package negate the prestige of a free nation. On the other hand, the obvious Soviet threat exists that if Pakistan were to use AWACS aircraft against its neighbors, the Soviet Union would not remain silent. As a third aspect, the Islamic world is a victim of criminal negligence and senselessness. With this background, in the field of foreign policy Pakistan is faced with a strange dilemma. The situation is like that of a person with "neither a place to live, not a foot to walk." This is a period of intense testing for the gentlemen responsible for shaping foreign policy. What is needed is for the administration to take the entire nation into its confidence before adopting any stand. Better still, foreign policy should be drawn up through a national discussion held in the Senate, the National Assembly and the newspapers and by achieving a national consensus.

9779/12859
CSO: 4656/88

PARLIAMENTARY OPPOSITION GROUP, BENAZIR MEET

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 12 Jun 87 pp 1, 8

[Text]

ISLAMABAD, June 11: Although the much publicised dinner hosted by the Parliamentary Opposition Group in honour of the PPP's Chairperson was much an impressive, dignified, well attended, and neatly organised affair, neither side committed themselves or dropped hints about any framework for future collaboration.

Both Ms Benazir Bhutto and POG leader Syed Fakhar Imam in their dinner speeches showed no hesitation in acknowledging and maintaining their differences in their perceptions and view points but both of them agreed that despite these differences they could still struggle jointly for the realisation of national objectives.

"We have had fierce and bitter differences in the past. Perhaps we will have differences in future too. It is not the differences which count what counts is that each of us tonight in our own way and by our own process is declaring that the present set up is unacceptable to the people and detrimental to the federation, declared Ms Bhutto. She also added that despite the differences in our programme or backgrounds we are one in declaring that the sovereignty belongs to the people and their decision is final.

Meanwhile the POG leader in his welcoming address said, it is the national duty of our generation of the country to learn to work together for the establishment of democratic values while retaining the democratic option of carrying different opinions and offering diverse points of view in programme and policy to the people."

The PPP chairperson fully availed the opportunity provided to her by a faction of the system created by Gen Ziaul Haq to launch a full scale attack on the performance and policies of the military regime. It was probably the most

hardhitting speech of Ms Bhutto in recent memory during which she narrated the atrocities and highhandedness committed by the martial law regime against political opponents specially against her party.

During an hour long address to a spell bound audience Ms Bhutto justified the boycott of the general elections which she said were held under the umbrella of martial law. Refusing to accord any recognition to the parliament she declared that her party cannot accept the subversion of the constitution, the fraudulent referendum a system where all the barbaric acts of persecution, victimization injustice murder and violation of human rights including the right to liberty have been institutionalised. The PPP she declared was a member of the most vigorous and popular umbrella in the country's history the MRD.

While highlighting the achievements of her party's government, she accused Gen Ziaul Haq of subverting the Constitution on July 5, 1977 under the cover of a dark night. She said after overthrowing a popularly elected government Gen Zia smothered all nation building institutions including the judiciary and the political parties. He throttled the Press by indiscriminate use of martial law regulations and in 1985 finally discarded all pretence and abrogated the Constitution by replacing it with the Constitution of 1985.

She said by merging the offices of Chief of the Army Staff and President of Pakistan the Parliament has been subordinated to the arbitrary will of the military commander. "Now we have a prime minister appointed by his own Chief of the Army Staff and a Parliament that can 'constitutionally' be dissolved by that same

army commander" Imagine the discomfiture of a prime minister appointed by his own subordinate who was in another capacity, the superior of his own superior", she remarked.

Earlier the POG leader in his speech avoided any direct attack and said the dinner was arranged to facilitate a dialogue between the PPP leadership and the members of the Parliament who stood committed to the advancement of the democratic process and enhancement of the democratic spirit in the country.

Justifying their participation in the non-party election the POG leader said that from the outset the group have stated that the non-party elections was second best option available to the people of Pakistan although it was given a mandate by the people preferably to a further prolongation of military rule. However, he said there was no substitute to a party based elections in accordance with the 1973 Constitution. "We have consistently viewed the present Assembly as the means of providing a vehicle of transition between military rule and a return to normal democratic procedure and practice through the modicum of fresh elections", he said.

"Our stated position", he declared "has always been that we seek an updated schedule for early elections between the government, the opposition in the Assemblies and the political parties which did not participate in the non party elections of 1985".

He, however, expressed his considered opinion that a premature collapse of the system would not be conducive to the advancement of democratic process but would almost retard and stifle it thereby plunging us back into the dark and narrow corridor from which we have just begun to emerge.

SIND PEOPLE URGED NOT TO SUCCUMB TO HATRED OF PUNJABIS

Karachi JANG in Urdu 8 May 87 p 3

[Column by Rais Amrohvi: "This Disgraceful Venture"]

[Excerpts] Who knows how long the majority of people in Karachi and Sind have been watching in silence the evil turmoil of disruption, provocation and disorder that has gripped the inhabitants of this province, bringing a strange mental torture and spiritual anxiety. The string of disturbances that was initiated has in no way come to a conclusion. The flames are extinguished for a few moments, and then the sparks flare up again. A slight tremor shakes the entire city. We cannot possibly lead our lives in this terrifying environment of smoke, gunpowder and emotional eruption any longer. The citizens are already choked after continuously breathing in this poisonous atmosphere. At first, an antagonistic attitude was aroused between a very confined group of Pukhtuns and refugees. Now, for no reason at all, the agitators have also tried to drag the Punjabis living in Karachi and Sind into this shameful and abominable drama. Are all 50 million people of Punjab plunderers and invaders of the rights of others? Are there canals of milk and honey flowing in Punjab? Have the laborers and farmers of Punjab grabbed the manna and quail that Heaven gave to us? Do the army and the civil administration (which undoubtedly covers a majority of Punjabis) grant preferential treatment to the tens of millions of poor people of Punjab? None of this is true. Whether an estate-owner of Punjab or a landlord of Sind, a khan of Frontier Province or a chief of Baluchistan, a capitalist of Lahore or an industrialist of Karachi--they all belong to only one well-to-do group. The leader of the MQM, Iltaf Hussain, in his May Day speech rightly said that a group of plunderers has neither a religion nor a nationality! Capitalists sucking the blood of the poor are found in every nationality and community, whether Punjabi, Pukhtun, Baluch, Sindi or refugees. Iltaf Hussain very movingly and sincerely advised the poor people of Punjab to stand shoulder to shoulder with other oppressed and aggrieved people and to wage a holy war against tyrants and despots (no matter what their community). This is good advice. To declare all Pukhtuns as heroin dealers and all Punjabis as extortionate robbers is not only an act of injustice but is a mortal sin that would be pardoned by neither human conscience nor Divine justice! There is no doubt that the citizens of Sind have first priority over its soil, air, and water, over its natural and human resources, and that their rights should be fully safeguarded. This, however, does not mean that all Punjabis and Pukhtuns should be targets of reproach.

For a long time, an atrocious campaign has been carried out against our Punjabi brothers. God forbid that such a disgraceful and filthy venture should be undertaken. The attacks by rioters on the lives and property of Punjabis in the recent disturbance in Karachi cannot be condoned. Whether it is a massacre in the Aligarh or Qasbah quarters, bloody riots in Banaras Chok or Aurangi, the destruction of Pukhtun villages or the Punjabi and refugee areas--these incidents constitute the gloomiest chapter in the history of Pakistan. As far as the economic, material, social and political rights of the Sindi people are concerned, this column has always supported them wholeheartedly, and it will continue to do so. However, my conscience cannot tolerate the fact that, by declaring all the Punjabi people responsible for the human errors of the Punjabi officials of the land, sea and air force, the city police, the coast guard, the PIA, customs, excise, banking, insurance, the foreign service, the civil service, radio, television (and some 10 or 20 more), a campaign to provoke hatred against them should be launched. Or that the refugees should be threatened that they will be pushed across the Frontier Province, or that all Pukhtuns, as a whole, will be considered as members of the drug mafia. How long will the 7-8 million inhabitants of Karachi cover up such actions of agitators, rioters and enemies of mankind? To deprive a single person of his basic rights is an act against humanity, just as is an assault on any one faction--whether Punjabi or Pukhtun, refugee or Sindi, Baluch or Kashmiri--with arrows of taunts and reproach. Every conscientious and realistic person will shudder at the thought that the permanent citizens of Sind might be declared a minority due to the intense pressure and flow of inhabitants and settlers. I offer both my verbal and conscientious support to the permanent residents of Sind in this matter. Also unworthy of forgiveness, however, is the crime of indicating, with a single stroke of the pen, that any one sector deserves to be beheaded. We must bear in mind that at present we are in the midst of a dark and dreadful sea of doubt and suspicion, fear and mistrust. In order to purify the pollution of this terrifying sea, we must construct everywhere luminous minarets of faith, wisdom and realism. Otherwise, all is lost.

9779/12859

CSO: 4656/88

ANALYSIS STRESSES ROLE OF REGIONAL PLANNING IN DEVELOPMENT

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 9 Jun 87 p 4 and 10 Jun 87 p 4

[Two-part serial article by Dr Fareeha Zafar, teacher of geography at the Punjab University]

[Part I, 9 Jun 87 p 4]

[Text]

In Pakistan, the strategy of development has been spelled out in national development plans - annual plans, five-year plans and long-term perspective plans. In this context what goes for regional planning has taken several forms; planning for cities and metropolitan areas, governmental administrative and political units, depressed and frontier regions, and and resources and economic regions. At the national level the regional approach has been visible in locating industry and investment as well as sectoral allocations. But a dichotomy appears to exist between national planning which is essentially growth oriented and regional planning which is primarily concerned with the equity objective.

APPARENT SHIFT

The debate on whether it is possible to achieve 'equity' and 'growth' simultaneously remains to be resolved though the conception of regional development as anti-growth has long been dispelled. The apparent shift from growth for itself to growth with distribution/development has shifted from the national and impersonal level to the

regional and human in planning, but as yet in Pakistan the 'region' has not become the focus for development planning. The new approaches (Unified Approach, Basic Needs, etc.) visualise planning in terms of communities, target populations and participation at grassroot levels where place and consequently space have to be clearly defined. This requires the making of regional policy the hard core of national development planning.

The growth centered development policies of the 1950s and 1960s resulted in higher per capita income statistics but failed to raise the general levels of income leading to greater disparities between regions, areas and classes including urban and rural areas. The concept of the growth centre as a mechanism for generating growth based on Perroux's famous 'poles de croissance' did not create in actual terms either the 'spread effects' or 'trickle-down effects' of growth when applied to the developing world and Pakistan was no exception. Despite this, throughout the 1970s variations of the growth centre model continued to be experimented with leading to greater regional inequalities, urban primacy and rural stagnation. Recent studies on the problem of regional disparities bring out significant regional variations in the level of development at the provincial levels as well as intra-provincial disparities at the district or tehsil/taluka levels.

At the provincial level, the Punjab is the most developed province but it has a large number of backward districts. Baluchistan, unequivocally remains the most underdeveloped province. While a low correlation exists between literacy and wealth indicators, there is a powerful association between literacy and the level of development. The relatively backward districts are characterised by poor quality of housing stock with low access to municipal services like water and electricity and with low standards of provision of health, education and transport services (especially metalled roads). The most developed districts are concentrated in central and eastern parts of the Punjab and the districts at the bottom level are in the settled areas of Baluchistan.

IMBALANCE

The rural population of the Punjab has the best geographical access to economic services and amenities while the rural population of Sindh has very poor access to these facilities. Economic development thus tends to be concentrated in areas where development has already taken place, so that there are a few districts with developed urban and non-agricultural sectors and populations with high standards of living, and a large number of districts with subsistence economies, low income and very few urban amenities of life. All the studies emphasise the fact that the existence of regional

disparities and factors which promote inequalities, i.e., spatial differentiation in the natural resources base, development of economic activities, access to economic and social services and the social structure have created unbalanced structures and skewed income distribution patterns.

The concentration of infrastructure, markets, labour, financial and administrative functions in a few large urban centres has created a problem of urban primacy. This has received attention in planning documents and by researchers, but a coordinated national settlement policy has still to be formulated. In the meantime, metropolitan development authorities are involved in solving the day to day problems of the transport system and provision of urban amenities. The growing congestion of the metropolitan centres show that urban planning has been ad hoc and reactive, when the need is for pre-emptive policies and for the allocation of power and resource for implementation across the urban hierarchy.

RURAL STAGNATION

At the same time the problem of rural stagnation and low income levels of the rural population has been addressed rhetorically rather than in terms of diverting development expenditure towards these areas. A few experimental projects which owe their success to concentration of inputs and expertise have laid the basis for an overall agropolitan strategy of development, but in the absence of

any structural changes in the pattern of land ownership, poor access to inputs and services and disparities between the irrigated and unirrigated regions, the impact of all policy measures has been piecemeal and biased in favour of the large landholders.

The unequal distribution of income in rural areas almost always is associated with an unequal distribution of land but change is possible only when an effective delivery system is part of the redistributive policies. The absence of basic infrastructure and bias toward urban centres has spread the effects of development so thin that even the basic minimum needs of the vast majority of the people are not realised. Studies on rural poverty reveal that the highest proportion of the most extreme kind of poverty exists in Baluchistan followed by Punjab, Sind and NWFP.

This 'development of under-development' as analysed by the dependency theories appears to be endemic to the world capitalist system of production, exchange and accumulation into which the economies of the Third World are tightly knit. What is suggested here is that since the economies of the developing countries are intricately linked with those of the developed world, this has resulted in a leakage or transfer of the benefits of development to the industrialised countries and a disarticulation of economic structure within the developing countries. Combined with a sectoral approach to planning as in the case of Pakistan, this has led to uncoordinated development where the linkages between the

modern and traditional sectors of the economy, agriculture and industry, rural and urban areas and between different regions have not been established.

While agriculture accounts for 26 per cent of the GDP it provides employment to 52 per cent of the labour force and the export earnings derived directly and indirectly from it are to the tune of 68 per cent. The need to make agriculture more productive and create alternative avenues for employment absorption of the rural population requires interrelated policy measures. In manufacturing, the small scale industries sector employs 80 per cent of the industrial labour while its share in value added in manufacturing is 26 per cent. On the other hand, it contributes only 5 per cent to the GDP.

The need to expand the small scale industrial sector as an effective generator of employment has obvious advantages which can be maximised if this sector was to expand into the rural areas so that rural-urban migration can be reduced. Studies carried out of industrial estates in large urban centres show that the desire to modernise and mechanise the work process is much greater in these areas which mitigates against the labour absorption benefits of such industrialisation. The possibility of developing linkages between small-scale and large-scale industry through subcontracting to the mutual benefit of both sectors needs greater attention and can be approached better in a regional context. (To be concluded)

[Part II, 10 Jun 87 p 4]

[Text]

The indications are that a development strategy which takes the region as the point of departure may be able to provide a viable alternative. When development in any sector is planned, in the final analysis, the actual location of the development determines the population which will benefit from it and in particular the segment of the population which has access to the development in terms of economic, social and political power. Precisely because of this the location of development or the regional context of development can be a very powerful tool in the hands of the policy makers.

DICHOTOMY

But regional planning is not only concerned with the spatial aspects of planning, rather it is looked at primarily, as a means of bringing development to people located in specific areas and is a combination of both 'people' and 'prosperity' approaches instead of looking at the two in contradiction to each other. The apparently disparate concepts of 'growth' and 'equity' can be combined if the region is taken to be a dynamic spatial unit.

The dichotomy between regional planning and national planning in Pakistan as a developing country is one of the main causes for the underdevelopment of most parts of the country and for the dislocation

of linkages between the different sectors of the economy as well as between different regions. So far a range of regional planning strategies have been followed in developing countries whose concern has been to (1) redress regional disparities in development, (2) reduce or restrict the large size of national metropolises and (3) reduce urban-rural inequality. While there is no easy solution to such problems, a first step can be taken by recognising the need for conscious regional planning as an integral part of the country's economic and social planning.

LIVING STANDARDS

Since creation of regional disparities is endemic to the growth

model, as long as GNP, GDP and per capita income statistics continue to form the primary basis for assessing the 'level of development' policies and strategies relating to an improvement in the standard of living or raising the quality of life for the majority of the people will remain mere rhetoric. Regional planning is also advocated as a national development strategy as it alone can provide an answer to the regional aspirations of the people of Pakistan. That increasing disparities between East and West Pakistan were one of the major causes behind the dismemberment of the country in 1971 is no longer disputed.

Denying the visible results of development to sections of people and to regions provide easy material for class-based and parochial sentiments to grow, while the designing and implementation of projects without taking regional views into consideration are likely to cause the kind of controversy now raging around the proposed construction of the Kalabagh Dam. In this sense regional planning is a political issue and it must be approached as such. Planning requires an integrative approach and regional development depends on the decentralisation of decision-making and implementation to sub-national levels; a judicious mix of the two is more likely to produce a workable hypothesis for national consensus than the integration policies followed so far.

The question of developing linkages between the different parts of the economic system and between regions is related to the issue of regional leakages and polarised development. The need to internalise the benefits of their own resources requires greater autonomy at the regional levels as well as a transformation of the basic unequal economic, political and social structural relations. A first step towards this can be the identification of autonomous development in local communities and their integration into the whole re-

gional development policy at the national level.

REGIONAL CLOSURE

A form of selective 'regional closure' at the local and provincial levels would need to be evolved to ensure that linkages are created at both the intraregional and inter-regional levels. Given the unequal international exchange system which favours the development of industrialised countries the parameters of regional development in the developing world thus become multidimensional, i.e., international, national and regional. The complex issue of regional development needs to be placed within an expanded view of the concept of development itself.

PLURALITY

Recognition of these ideas and continued poverty of the rural areas in particular has resulted in the replacement of a universal strategy--the growth strategy-- by a plurality of approaches to regional development in the developing world cognisant of the history, particular conditions and levels of development of the individual countries with agropolitan development, decentralisation and provision of basic needs forming the key elements of the new policies. The parameters of these policies and regional development policy overlap to a significant degree.

Recognition of the existing conditions of poverty, spatial and social disparities, sectoral cleavages and dualistic economic structures are common to both, but while the former programmes suggest what needs to be done particularly to improve the quality of life of the rural poor, regional planning provides a mechanism for achieving these objectives. Since the eighties, regional policy is thus beginning to be seen as a means of achieving the goals of human development.

/9274

CSO: 4600/248

PUNJAB BUDGET PRESENTED

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 9 Jun 87 pp 1, 8

[Article by Aurangzeb]

[Text]

LAHORE, June 8: Chaudhry Mumtaz Hussain, the Punjab Finance Minister, presented the next financial year's budget of Rs. 3176 crore with a shortfall of Rs. 1021.06 crore in the non-developmental account. Presenting the budget in the Punjab Assembly, the Finance Minister proposed increase in the Motor Vehicle Tax and in the rate of arms licence fee, which would generate an additional income of Rs. 30.00 crore. As regards the rest of the deficit in the budget, the Minister said it would be met through administrative measures like economy cuts and improvement in the tax collection system in order to yield more income. Chaudhry Mumtaz Hussain said that the budget reflected a tilt in public investment in favour of the genuinely poor.

The Minister suggested that new motor vehicle tax on vehicles 1000 cc to 1300 cc should be Rs. 500 per annum, and vehicles from 1300 cc upward should pay Rs. 1000/- per annum. As regards vehicles with seating capacity exceeding six persons, their annual tax will be Rs. 150/- per seat against Rs. 96/- at present.

Arms licence fee he proposed as: prohibited bore rifle would be from Rs. 600 to 1200, and on ordinary bore, arms fee would be charged from Rs. 100 to 300. Out of a total expenditure of Rs. 3176 non-development revenue expenditure includes Rs. 2284.04 crore and ADP amounts to Rs. 892 crore with an operational shortfall

of Rs. 75.39 crore.

As regards, the National Finance Commission, the Minister said that he wanted to take the House into confidence, and said that during the last two years, the Punjab government, while presenting its case had submitted a memorandum to the Commission, pleading its case for additional resources, keeping in view increasing provincial needs. He said that the Punjab government had emphasised that the Commission was duty bound to recommend a new formula to the President. The Minister remarked that the new formula should be framed in such a manner that the devolution of resources from and outside the Federal Divisible Pool was made in an equitable manner.

Chaudhry Mumtaz Hussain said that the Punjab government had placed its requirement before the NFC and it had been advocated that the formula for the prospective award should be worked out in such a manner that the provinces should not be dependent on any Federal deficit grant. He pointed out that the expenditure had been increasing at a rate far higher than the growth rate of the provincial revenue. Explaining this situation, Chaudhry Mumtaz Hussain said that the provincial tax base was narrowing while the government was making massive investment in the social services sector.

The Minister said that the government was laying special emphasis on developmental activities. He said that the size of ADP

for 1987-88 had gone up to Rs. 892 crore as against ADP of the previous year which was Rs. 687 crore. The development expenditure as compared to last year had gone up to the extent of Rs. 280.76 crore or by 14 per cent.

He said that the provincial government had accorded the highest priority to education with an allocation of Rs. 674.53 crore, out of which Rs. 115.75 had been earmarked for developmental activities. Going into details, he said that primary education would be given further priority, in order to achieve the aim of universal literacy as early as possible.

Next year 40,000 new posts would be created in educational institutions.

The new ADP proposed to spend Rs. 144.86 crore on the agriculture sector, which is Rs. 101.88 crore more than 1986-87. 10,500 kms. new roads would be developed.

Agencies add: The Finance Minister said that a total Rs. 30 crore would be realised with the enhancement in the road tax and arms licence fee. The remaining deficit would be balanced with grant from the Federal Government, through better revenue collection and with the reduction of expenditure through austerity measures.

The Finance Minister said the main components of the new budget were Rs. 1108 crore for economic and social services Rs. 470 crore for state trading in food-grains and sugar and Rs. 383 crore for capital expenditure out-

side the development budget.

The Finance Minister said that highest priority had been given to education sector with an allocation of Rs. 674.53 crore, including Rs. 558.78 crore in the current budget and Rs. 115.75 crore in the development programme. The allocation for the education sector represented 21.24 per cent of the total development and current budget.

He said that within the education sector highest priority had been given to primary education in order to achieve the aims of universal literacy as early as possible; special emphasis had also been laid on female education.

The Finance Minister said the philosophy behind the budget was that no sustained economic growth was possible without full participation of the masses. On the other hand, this participation could be made possible only when adequate social and physical infrastructure was made available to them.

The Finance Minister said the investment in education, health, rural roads, water-supply and rural electrification would ensure that this infrastructure was made available to them. He said the government investment in these sectors was a powerful incentive for the rural population to join in the process of development.

— Ch. Mumtaz Hussain said the present government believed that an edifice of development whose foundations were laid at the cost of the poor, was bound to crumble. The government believed that it was the social development which paved the way for economic growth. As such it did not believe in a development process in which the poor did not participate or did not benefit from it.

He said that an unjust development process was not only undemocratic, but also un-Islamic, as had been clearly laid out by the Holy Prophet (peace be upon him) in his Khutab-e-Hajjat-ul-Wida.

Budget at a glance

LAHORE, JUNE 9, APP: FOLLOWING IS PUNJAB BUDGET 1987-88 AT A GLANCE:

	BUDGET 1986-87	REVISED 1986-87	(RS. IN CRORE) BUDGET 1987-88
GENERAL REVENUE RECEIPTS	1179.07	1226.96	1290.09
NON-DEVELOPMENT REVENUE			
EXPENDITURE	2003.28	1997.83	2284.04
REVENUE DEFICIT	824.21	770.87	993.95
GENERAL CAPITAL RECEIPTS	82.35	38.60	333.47
NON-DEVELOPMENT CAPITAL			
EXPENDITURE	93.87	103.11	382.69
NET CAPITAL RECEIPTS	-11.52	-64.51	-149.22
PUBLIC ACCOUNTS RECEIPTS	1192.56	1200.25	1243.42
PUBLIC ACCOUNTS			
DISBURSEMENTS	1160.45	1203.14	1221.31
NET PUBLIC ACCOUNTS	32.11	21.11	22.11
NET DEFICIT IN THE NON-DEVELOPMENT ACCOUNT	833.62	914.27	1021.06
APP---/ 13 th RAZA			

/9274

CSO: 4600/248

BUDGET CRITICS QUESTION AFGHAN WAR COST

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 10 Jun 87 p 6

[Article by Dr Basharat Anjum]

[Text]

JHANG, June 9: Leaders of public opinion have assailed the PML government for presenting a very harsh budget this year, a budget which is full of taxes and which will increase prices of all commodities. The burden on the already hardest-hit common man will increase manifold.

Syeda Abida Hussain, MNA while talking to The Muslim anticipated that the budget was likely to increase inflation to 30 per cent. She said this will lead to frightening hike in the prices of common consumer items and make the life of the common man more miserable in the coming months. "I can see that PML government is facing a tough time because of its 'follies'.

Syeda Abida who is also the chief of the district council, Jhang sharply criticised the imposition of 'defence tax' and remarked that America should foot the bill of Afghan war; why should the poor people of Pakistan be forced to finance a war which is being fought on American behest. But, she added, if USA was not willing to bear war expenses then instead of

burdening our people with 'defence tax' we should review and revise our Afghan policy and secure our northern frontiers. "Once a settlement is reached there will be no need to 'fleece the people' in the name of defence of the country, she contended.

A JUI Punjab leader, Maulana Haq Nawaz has also sharply criticised the new year's budget. The "Defence" budget will not only affect Pakistanis, it will also lead to arms race in this region. He said increase in the prices of power, petroleum products and gas, and imposition of the so-called will push up the prices of common consumer items to new heights. The JUI leader said that only a few privileged classes which had to benefit from increased inflation might be happy over the new budget. Otherwise the entire nation is shocked over how badly the country's economy has suffered during the last decade. The so-called civilian government, it seems, had no option but to come out with unprecedentedly harsh budget. He demanded withdrawal of all new levies on gas, electricity, & telephone etc. The defence tax should also go, he said.

A local PPP leader Sufi Muhammad Ashraf has also lashed out at the civilian government of Mr. Junejo for cracking a cruel joke with the people of Pakistan. The budget, he said, which is very harsh in the known history, shows clearly that the country's economy has been badly shattered and the government had no option but to antagonise the entire nation to make up the deficit billion of rupees.

A PSF leader, Murtaza Nadim said he was not surprised over the cruel budget. What else a bankrupt government could do in the circumstances. The so-called Muslim League government has produced a budget of capitalists and waderas. Today, he said, we are reminded of the great leader, late Z.A. Bhutto, who wanted to create a welfare state, but who was physically liquidated by 'usurpers' so that the march of time was stopped.

Many other opinion leaders and common man have all criticised the budget. Some said that any amount of revision in the budgetary proposals will not reduce its rigours and the people are bound to suffer immensely in times to come.

/9274

CSO: 4600/249

PUNJAB'S ANNUAL DEVELOPMENT PLANS OUTLINED

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 9 Jun 87 pp 1, 8

[Text]

LAHORE, June 8: The Punjab Finance Minister today announced a record Rs. 892 crore Annual Development Programme for the next financial year with highest priorities given to the health, agriculture and education sectors.

The total resource availability for the programme is estimated Rs. 756 crore which includes Federal assistance amounting to Rs. 743 crore and foreign assistance to the tune of about Rs. 13 crore.

The gap between the available resources and the gross size of the ADP was expected to be met by an anticipated shortfall of Rs. 75 crore in the implementation of the programme.

The main focus of the programme is on the Prime Minister's Five Point Programme for which a big allocation of Rs. 419 crore has been proposed which is 61 per cent more than the current year's funding.

Agriculture, in view of its

importance in the national economy, has been given a very high priority with an allocation of Rs. 144 crore.

This is apart from the allocations for allied fields such as irrigation livestock, fisheries, forests, food and cooperatives.

A record sum of Rs. 142 crore has been earmarked for the health sector in which emphasis is laid on rural health, teaching hospitals and medical education.

Education gets 13% total ADP (Rs. 114 crore), with special stress on primary and secondary education, and female literacy.

A very high priority in the ADP has been given to the field of housing and physical planning which has received allocation of Rs. 241 crore as against the revised estimated expenditure of Rs. 176 crore during the current year.

About 71 per cent of the ADP is meant for the development of rural area schemes. Besides, an allocation of Rs. 11 crore has been proposed for regional development

schemes.

The Barani areas have been given due importance in the ADP to offset the natural disadvantages inherited by them. A sum of Rs. 101 crore has been set apart for schemes to be implemented in these areas.

A high priority has been given to the completion of on-going schemes to ensure that budgetary allocations are not thinly spread.

It is expected that 1264 ongoing schemes will be completed during the next fiscal year.

In order to fulfil commitments with the donor agencies the foreign aided projects have been adequately funded to ensure their timely completion for the benefit of the people.

Farm-to-market roads have received due attention with an allocation of Rs. 98 crore. In physical terms about 2453 kilometres of roads would be built during the next year.

As many as 264 rural water supply and drainage on-going schemes will be completed during the next year while another 328 schemes will be taken in hand at a cost of rupees 100 crore.—APP

/9274

CSO: 4600/248

COMMENTARY ARGUES AGAINST ACQUIRING AWACS

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 10 Jun 87 p 4

[Commentary by Haider Mehdi]

[Text]

Fascination with electronic gadgetry and higher technology is a common contemporary phenomenon. This is more so with modern, highly sophisticated weapon systems which create an illusive and erroneous sense of security in defense without fully enumerating the enormous hidden costs to other important sectors of economic and social services development in the national reconstruction efforts of Third World countries. Moreover, the latest weapon systems are dependent on complex infrastructures, which by their very nature require perpetual rearmament and continued, non-stop, acquisition of new generations of arms, without which they become obsolete.

WEAPONS MONOPOLY

Hence, a Third World country that ventures into acquiring the latest state-of-the-art in weapons invariably develops a dependency relationship with advanced nations who exercise a monopoly over technology and the financing of such weapons. Consequently, the question of national defense becomes tied-up with dependency relationships, subservient to the interests of an outside power. Given this general conceptual framework of relationships and dependency models. It becomes imperative to closely

examine Pakistan's recent consultations with the United States to acquire modern AWACS military aircrafts.

Customarily, military strategists the world over maintain a deliberate equivocal silence regarding the detailed usefulness of a weapon system they wish to acquire and also avoid public debates on matters of national security. Pakistani civilian/military planners, too, have not fully elaborated on the extent of the efficacy of acquiring AWACS planes from the United States. Pakistani government maintains that AWACS aircrafts will provide early warnings of an impending attack to their military experts, and therefore enhance the security of the country. Just on a casual first-glance basis, this line of argument seems simple, and appeals to common sense.

However, the facts are not quite so simple; there are considerable military complexities involved. The foremost issue is that the information made available by AWACS in itself is not so important; it is what you do with that information that becomes the back-bone of military strategy.

Let us consider for the sake of discussion the following military scenario. Suppose Pakistan has AWACS aircrafts and they detect an imminent Indian or Afghan attack on targets inside Pakistan, for example on Pakistan's nuclear power plant. What would Pakistani military strategists do with this vital information? There are several military options that can be considered:

Massive Retaliatory Response —
First-Strike Option: Pakistan's

leadership may decide to launch a first-strike attack against its adversary and destroy the incoming onslaught on the ground or in the air before it reaches the destined targets in Pakistan. It may also simultaneously launch a massive retaliatory response on various military sectors in the enemy country so as to contain the conflict outside Pakistani borders, and at the same time deliver heavy damages to its opponents. Given the early warning systems, it seems to be a viable military response. But the operational difficulties with this option are that to acquire first-strike and massive military retaliatory response capabilities, Pakistan will have to obtain a completely new generation of modern weaponry equipment with short, medium, and long-range missiles along with highly sophisticated and expensive technological infrastructures.

COSTLY

It will require Pakistan to attain an altogether new military prowess largely based on technological warfare. The fundamental issue is, can Pakistan afford such costly military hardware? Can Pakistan politically initiate such a massive arms race in the region, and to what avail? Should Pakistan seek conflict resolution in an accelerated and enormously expensive military preparedness?

Selective Target Surgical Air Strikes: A second military option given the advanced warning of an attack against Pakistan could be to strike at selective enemy military targets and bases with blitz surgical

air strikes carried out with extreme precision and accuracy. This could be done by using F-14 and similar aircrafts provided electronic radar jamming techniques are available to Pakistan. However, it is not likely that at any level of military preparedness Pakistan could deliver heavy damage to its adversaries and therefore use its military force as a deterrent against its enemies. Also, the costs of acquiring air force deterrent capabilities are exorbitant and solely dependent on attaining technological warfare prowess. Hence, this is not a viable military option for Pakistan. In addition, another problem with this military strategy is that in an overall perspective, it gives military solutions to political problems. In a long-run overview, a military option such as this tends to widen the scope of conflicts rather than eliminate or narrow them.

MOBILISATION

Conventional Forces Rapid Mobilisation: Early attack warnings by AWACS could give Pakistan the opportunity to rapidly mobilise its conventional forces — the army, air force and navy — in deployment at strategic locations and in counter-attacks at targets of its own choice. However, what this means in operational terms is that Pakistan must stay in a perpetual state of military alertness — a concept which sends confusing signals to its adversaries regarding its intentions to use force and promotes a lack of faith in peaceful deliberative processes.

Military/Political Flexible Response: In the event of an incoming attack, Pakistan may choose to respond by combined diplomatic and military manoeuvres. This option would entail opening quick communication links with the adversaries and attempting diplomatically to avoid military confrontations. Diplomatic efforts could be combined with low-key military and air force manoeuvres as preventative measures. Irrespective of acquiring new arms technology, open communication links with the adversaries remain for Pakistan the most potent and viable option for resolving conflicts with its neighbouring countries.

Constructive Diplomatic/Political Engagements: The fact of the matter is that AWACS early warning aircrafts by themselves do not create military deterrence — unless they are

backed by ultra-modern, high-tech sophisticated weaponry. If Pakistan wishes to acquire AWACS only to stop minor incursions of Afghan aircrafts into its air space, then the cost of this project is exorbitantly high and the possibility of political fallout is disastrous.

RISKS

For example, the Soviet government may interpret the presence of AWACS in Pakistan as a Pak/US ploy to surround the Soviet Union at the behest of the American administration, to which Pakistan is seen to be playing a subservient role as a spying agent. Considering that the US has pledged a substantial aid package to Pakistan, the Reagan Administration may ask for several arrangements, military as well as eco-political, that may suit American interests. It is quite possible that much of the aid money may end tied up with purchase of AWACS planes, and subsequently with the purchase of additional expensive military hardware. It would be disastrous for the Pakistani economy to invest huge sums of borrowed dollars into economically non-productive defense initiatives — whose usefulness at best is questionable.

Another major risk involved in the purchase of AWACS aircrafts is that it may initiate massive arms procurement programmes and a military build-up on the sub-continent and in the region. Such a trend would have devastating effects, not only on the economies of Pakistan and India, but also on other countries in the area. Industrial nations on the other hand would greatly benefit from an accelerated arms race in Asia.

Pakistan has a unique strategic location, which affords Pakistan the opportunity to seek diplomatic avenues of unprecedented peace initiatives and the possibility to realise true disarmament in the region of South Asia. Pakistan should seek a quick political settlement of the Afghan issue, and embark on building cordial relations with both China and the Soviet Union. What Pakistan has to do in the next decade is to develop a Pak-Afghan-Chinese-Bangladesh-Sri Lankan peace alliance in the region with a view to undertake massive disarmament initiatives to divert resources to large-scale economic development — and politically compel disarmament on its major adversary India.

DALABAGH DAM: RESISTANCE VOWED

Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 9 Jun 87 p 8

[Article by Rahimullah Yusufzai]

[Text]

PESHAWAR, June 8: ANP Central Vice-President Begum Nasim Wali Khan has taken strong exception to the reported statement by Federal Planning Minister Dr. Mahbubul Haq justifying the construction of Kalabagh Dam and has warned that his insistence on executing the controversial project amounted to subverting the federation of Pakistan because it has been universally opposed by the political parties and masses of Sind, Baluchistan and Pakhtoonkhwa.

Addressing a Press conference in Peshawar Monday, she reiterated the ANP's resolve to resist the building of a dam which threatened to spell disaster for the three smaller provinces of the country. She wondered as to why Dr. Mahbubul Haq had chosen this time to reopen the Kalabagh Dam issue when the people were reacting angrily to the Federal Budget. Calling the Minister an appointee of the World Bank, she contended that continued loadshedding in the country was a proof of his incompetence and failure as a planning minister.

Begum Nasim Wali Khan wanted to know about the fate of the high-powered Committee which the Federal Government had reportedly constituted to review the Kalabagh Dam project in consultation with all four provinces. She called upon

the NWFP Government to seek a clarification about Dr. Mahbubul Haq's latest pronouncement of the Dam as it had committed itself to oppose the project and the Provincial Assembly has resolved that it agitated against the interest of the province. She argued that failure on the part of the Frontier Government to refute Dr. Mahbubul Haq's assertion would amount to betrayal of the Pakhtoons and a proof of the fact that it had joined hands with those hatching conspiracies against Pakhtoonkhwa. 'The Pakhtoons would seek accountability from the Provincial Government at an opportune time if it erred' she warned.

The ANP leader informed that her party would not hesitate to seek cooperation of political parties in NWFP, including PPP to formulate a joint stand to resist the construction of the Dam as it threatened to harm all Pakhtoons irrespective of their political creed. She argued that reduction of the Dam by ten feet in the redesigned project was unacceptable to ANP because it would still pose great risks to the economy of Pakhtoonkhwa Sind and Baluchistan.

Begum Nasim maintained that Sind and Baluchistan would exper-

ience scarcity of water while three fertile districts of Pakhtoonkhwa Peshawar, Mardan and Kohat—would be submerged under water with the construction of the Dam as this area is already experiencing problems due to Warsak and Tarbela Dams. She felt the huge amounts of money spent on Mardar scarp would go down the drain if Kalabagh Dam was built. She recalled that Kalabagh Dam had been rejected earlier when Tarbela Dam project was preferred. Advocating construction of a new dam on Indus river at Basha, she claimed it will cost one-third less cause 95 per cent less damage to the area's economy and ecology and produce four times as much electricity. She wanted to know as to why the unutilised 1750 megawatt capacity of Tarbela Dam was not being brought into use to meet energy needs.

The ANP Central Vice President felt controversial projects like Kalabagh Dam were being pursued to advance the government's policy of 'divide and rule' and project American and World Bank interests. She alleged that Kalabagh Dam issue is being deliberately kicked up ever since the MRD decision to retain only four subjects with the Centre, giving water and power also to the provinces.

/9274

CSO: 4600/248

LAWLESSNESS MAKING SINDHIS LOSE FAITH IN GOVERNMENT

Karachi JANG [Supplement] in Urdu 27 May 87 p 6

[Article by Mukhtar Aqil: "Lawlessness in Sind"]

[Excerpts] Not only the people but political parties and the government are being effected by the crime wave in Sind. Leaders of two national parties, Benazir Bhutto and Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi, have accused the government of stealing their "formulas." Benazir Bhutto, chairman of the Pakistan People's Party, has accused the government of "stealing 20 percent of her policies." These included proposals for modern schools, model towns, and starting a second television channel. Ghulam Mustafa Jatoi, chairman of the National People's Party, has also accused the government of stealing his "formulas." While addressing a group led by the prominent industrialist Abdul Ismael, he had suggested reducing the top income tax bracket from 45 percent to 25 percent. He had, however, refused to elaborate on other economic plans because the government "steals" his ideas. Not long ago, a prominent nuclear scientist, Abdul Qadeer Khan, was accused of stealing atomic secrets from Canada. A case was filed against him, but the court did not find him guilty of any crime. Theft of scientific and creative ideas is not a new development, and the Muslim League government has not started a new tradition by stealing "plans" and "policies" from the PPP and NPP. Miss Benazir Bhutto, chairperson of the PPP, had announced her "labor policy" demanding a minimum wage of 1,000 rupees per month for unskilled laborers. The ink on this announcement had not even dried when Ghaush Ali Shah, Sind's chief minister, announced 1,000 rupees minimum wage in a labor meeting at Landhi. The Muslim League government will become highly respected and innovative if it continues to steal "ideas" from opposition parties!

The Muslim League government is not not busy "stealing" ideas from opposition parties in order to prolong its rule, but also is facing challenge from real thieves and dacoits. These criminals have infested the whole province with their illegal activities and made the lives of citizens miserable. The attitude of the police toward the dacoit problem is very unfair. Kidnapping of an important person results in mass police action. High police officials establish headquarters at the site of the crime and look for dacoits. When an ordinary citizen is kidnapped, nothing is done. When Abdul Aziz Ghaouri, an industrialist from Hyderabad, and Abdulmajid Sheikh, a Larkana journalist, were kidnapped there was some police effort to locate them in the beginning.

Later, the police lost its enthusiasm for this case. According to an estimate at least 50 people have been kidnapped from the 15 districts of Sind and are still in the custody of dacoits. All of these belong to middle or lower classes. Their relatives do not have the required ransom money, therefore, are waiting for their release.

Several reasons are given for the rise in the number of dacoits and other criminals in Sind. Most political and social circles agree that unemployment and the "desire to become rich overnight" are the major reasons. Lakhs of people from the Sind's total population of 2.25 crore [22.5 million] are in employable age, however, only a few lakhs are actually employed. This has not only frustrated people but also provided fertile ground for criminals to prosper. A young man requested a former federal minister for a job and the minister apologized. the young man said, "You will see my name listed with the dacoits when you visit this area the next time."

Unemployment, which spreads like the plague, and a desire to "get rich quick" is pulling the youth toward the life of crime. The desire for riches is ruining our whole society. Industrialists, businessmen, and people working for the government or the private industry, are all gone crazy for making money. Maulana Shah Ahmad Noorani, leader of Jamiat-e Ulema-e Pakistan, said that our assembly members and ministers have more money than big industrialists. This tendency to make money the easy way has blinded the poor and the middle class youth. There are proofs of young men being involved in bank and highway robberies. Another factor, known as a "political factor," has emerged as the cause of the increase in crime. Some extremist groups have taken to crime for raising funds for their activities. Kidnapping of Seth Suleiman Daud, member of the prominent industrialist Daud family and the director of Daud Corporation, is a good example of this new practice. The police and members of Daud family are silent about Seth Suleiman kidnapping. We have learned from some sources that an extremist organization is behind the Seth Suleiman kidnapping. Members of this organizations have received "contributions" from the Daud family in the past and had sent some threatening letters about 1 and 1/2 years ago. This organization had learned that the Daud family had contributed one crore rupees to the Muslim League. When this organization approached the Daud family for some contribution, it was refused. This organization made plans to kidnap Seth Suleiman. He was abducted by some armed members of this organization from a Daud farm on 19 May and was kept in Kohistan in the Daud district. This mountainous area is close to Baluchistan and is used by criminals for inter-provincial traffic. Malik Sikandar was elected to the National Assembly from this area on the PPP ticket in 1970. After his death, Malik Asad, one of his sons, was elected to the provincial assembly. One of Malik Sikandar's brother, Malik Ilauddin, is also very influential in this area. Malik Ilauddin has some differences with Malik Asad, his nephew. Malik Ilauddin and his brother played a very important role in the release of Seth Suleiman Daud. They also accompanied the famous eye surgeon Rizvi, Seth Ahmad Daud, and Seth Ali Mohammad Daud when Seth Suleiman was brought to his residence in Karachi. None of the parties involved have ever mentioned any "ransom" in this context.

Release of Seth Suleiman Daud within 54 hours of his abduction proves that the police can get release of hostages and can control the dacoits if it wants to.

This situation is adversely effecting the industrial production in the province. Investors are moving to Punjab very fast. Only recently, a 68,000 acre industrial estate has been established in the Choonia area.

Sindhis are losing faith in law and order because of this increase in criminal activities. Abduction of businessmen and industrialists have made them very nervous and is influencing the rural areas negatively. Farmers are scared and prices of agricultural land are falling rapidly. A landlord in Thath told us that his land which was selling for 15,000 rupees per acre only a while back does not get even 7,000 rupees per acre now. This is slowing down industrial development, if not stopping it completely. If strong action to improve this situation is not taken then the people will lose faith in law and order completely.

7997

CSO: 4656/91

BRIEFS

JUP ELECTS LEADERS--Lahore, 8 Jun--The Majlis-e-Shoora of Jamiat Ulema-e-Pakistan today reelected Maulana Shah Ahmad Noorani as President of JUP and Maulana Abdul Sattar Niazi as Secretary General, unopposed for the term of three years, while the election for six Vice Presidents five Joint Secretaries, one Deputy Secretary General, one Secretary Information and one Secretary Finance is going on and its results will be made public tomorrow. At the venue of the polls, Maulana Shah Ahmad Noorani told 'The Muslim' that they were still waiting for a positive response to their proposal of a round table conference of all political parties by the MRD. Speaking of the budget, he said that the newly elected central committee of the JUP would meet tomorrow to discuss the implications of the proposed budget and coming local bodies polls [as published]. [Text] [Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 9 Jun 37 p 6] /9274

NPP SEEKS KHAR'S RELEASE--Attock, 10 Jun--Acting president of NPP, Punjab has warned that if Punjab's former Chief Minister G. M. Khar was not released before June 20, NPP will launch a protest campaign for his release. While talking to newsmen at the residence of NPP district chairman Khan Zamarud Khan he bitterly criticised Ms Benazir Bhutto and said that she is going to meet the members of the Assembly who did not recognise her in the past. He informed that he will meet with G. M. Khar in Multan during next week. Some proclaimed offenders created panic in parts of tehsil Pindigheb and looted articles worth about two lac in 10 dhoks. It is reported that P.O's are hiding in kala Chitta forest and police is not able to arrest them [as published]. [Text] [Islamabad THE MUSLIM in English 11 Jun 37 p 6] /9274

CSO 4600/249

JANATHA VIHUKTHI PERANUNA RESURGENCE SPARKS INTEREST

JVP Leaders Grow Old

Colombo THE ISLAND in English 14 Jun 87 p 7

[Article by Rajpal Abeynayake]

[Text]

The old JVP leadership now views life from a different vista. It's been sixteen years since 1971, and now that leadership is more on the other side of the generational divide.

The fire of youth has died with the passage of time. It's mellowed.

The baby of the 1971 leadership was Sunanda Deshapriya, the fifth suspect in the grand trial. Today, he is 36, and wistful.

The acknowledged elder of the '71 leadership was D. A. Gunsekera, the 11th suspect of the grand trial. 51 then, today he is at 67, a senior citizen.

Only five of that day's leadership were married. Today, all are wedded, except J. Uyangoda alias Oooo Mahathmaya, the third suspect. Kularatne Banda, the 15th suspect and Nayananda the 39th suspect were married while serving sentence in prison.

There have been marriages among the families that have almost made a clan out of the old guard. Loku Athula is married to the daughter of Somasiri Kumanyake, the 11th suspect. T. D. Silva, the 12th suspect, is married to Loku Athula's sister, while Lakshman Maduwa is married to Mahinda Wijesekera's sister. Anura Ranjith Kulakulasuriya (4th suspect) is married to the sister of 29th suspect, Kalu Lucky. Also, there has been a transaction of marriage in the second generation with T. D. Silva's daughter being married to Sanath, who died in '71.

Today, the surviving leaders are all employed, except T. D. Silva and Merrill Jayasiri, the 31st suspect.

Five were employed when the insurrection took place in '71. D. A. Gunsekera who was employed in the Ceylon Leather Products Corporation was re-employed there. He resigned subsequently and today runs a retail shop in Nugegoda. P. P. Dhanapala, the 21st suspect, who was employed in the

Land Development Authority, was re-employed there. He lost his job in the 1980 strike, and was re-employed recently. W. T. Karunaratne, a clerk in the Inland Revenue Department in 1971, is re-employed in the same place.

Others have gone their own separate ways. Piyatilleke, the first suspect, is the managing director of S.V.A. Henry and Company owned by his father. Lionel Bopage, the 2nd suspect, is a civil engineer in a private establishment. J. Uyangoda is a senior lecturer in Sociology at the Colombo Campus. Mahinda Wijesekera, a lawyer, is the chief SLFP organiser for Devinuwara. Aladin Subasinghe is a lawyer. Loku Athula is the transport manager at Galle Face Hotel. Podi Athula is the editor of a Sinhalese magazine. Piyasiri is a co-director for film director Dharmasena Pathiraja. Sunil Ratnasiri is a regional manager of the National Housing Development Authority. Vasantha Kanagaratne is a Sarvodaya organiser for Colombo. Sunanda, the youngest, is a full timer with the All Ceylon Farmers Congress while Nayananda Wijekuletileke has used his talents to work as an independent artist. Kelly Senanayake runs a printing press in Dehiwela. Ananda Perera is quality controller in a private establishment. Sisilchandra works for a jewellery establishment in Hikkaduwa. Batapola Athula, the 27th suspect is a store manager, Wijepala de Silva the 18th suspect a technician, and Lakshman de Silva alias Podi Lucky the 30th suspect a statistical officer. Premaratne alias Chukki, the 32nd suspect is in the poultry business.

And so it goes....

The only person abroad from those in the crew is Sunil Maduwa who lives in France with his wife. The others are still very much in the milieu....

Colombo THE ISLAND in English 14 Jun 87 p 7

[Text]

Those who make a revolution by halves, Dig their own graves. If that was true, they are still waiting to be buried. Only four of the Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna leadership died in their abortive bid for power in 1971.

Most are living today (see box), far removed from the political affiliations of the sixteen-year-old past.

In 1971, one man was the sworn leader of all of these people. Today, they are essentially political, and definitely none of the old guard accepts the leadership of Rohana Wijeweera, the only man who still believes in the original vision of the revolution that didn't quite make it.

Not that they all deserted him after 1971.

When Wijeweera emerged from the prison in 1977 to resurrect the J.V.P., he was joined by Lionel Bopage and Kelly Senanayake who were comrades in arms in the old leadership. Today, this duo has also left him.

The only person from the old leadership to join the ruling UNP is Kalu Lucky. (National Security Minister Lalith Athulathmudali was witness at his wedding). A few have their own politics. Mahinda Wijesekera is the S.L.F.P. organiser for Devinuwara. Loku Athula is one of the chief organisers of the S.L.M.P.

The others do not belong to any political parties. Most are still left leaning though, but share diverse views on the present and the future.

The differences end there. Their views on their past are strikingly similar.

All of them, for instance, have a 'charge sheet' against Rohana Wijeweera for one thing or another.

Said one that he is more a social institution that reflected a certain force than an individual.

Therefore, whatever he did wrong reflected the social compulsions and limitations of his time. "However, it seems that he has learnt nothing from his past. Discretion is the better part of valour. One must honestly own up to one's mistakes.

"Second, one must be humble enough to admit one's political errors. Wijeweera is essentially devoid of both these qualities".

Such explanations by his former comrades in arms are common.

Perhaps, it is difficult to explain the manifestation of the J.V.P. in its present form. On educated estimates, the strength of the JVP is no more and no less than it was in the region of 1971. The overwhelming majority of the rank

and file are those who joined after the resurrection of the party in 1977.

Though the ideology has gone through aberrations, the low down and the modus operandi is the same. The same rural youth power base, and campus based leadership spell an ominous *deja vu*.

So then why is this appeal for a man who has been forsaken by all, bar none, of his former apostles as an impulsive element that refused to learn from past mistakes.

It's *deja vu*, say the leaders who shared Wijeweera's ideology in '71 that they see a re-enactment of an all too familiar past. Only, they are too old for that now. The fire and fervour and the impulses of more youthful days are bygone. Yet those who are in their twenties now, are caught up in the same vortex.

Says one '71 leader that rural youth are not beneficiaries of the goodies of the open economy. The older rural generation are looking to more conventional political alternatives. Many of the young are more radical than that. To them, there is no radical alternative to Wijeweera.

"Such youth do not belong to our generation. When we were revolting, they were just kids of four or five. They have no insight from the past. They only have its aura. In this set-up, Wijeweera personifies the rebellion. It is natural that there is an attraction for him".

Sunanda Deshapriya, then at sixteen was the youngest member of the JVP leadership. He reconstructs the present through a stricken past. He recalls that those who made their life out of the movement were full timers who took charge in all areas. In dedication, none surpassed the other. Things like abandoning ones education were common.

"The leadership sanctioned robbery for survival. Once, we quite effortlessly siphoned Rs. 10,000 from the Badulla mail train.

"Like many other A level students, my sister was conducting classes in our hometown. Later, she joined as a full-timer and left home.

"1971 was to be the year of fulfilment. Most of us who had left school together now held responsible positions in the movement. We were like one family, bonded in this common expectation of victory. Our self confidence was infinite, and life was filled with a heady wine of feeling for fellow humanity. The time had not yet come for the realisation that all this was founded on short term expectations. The time had not come for the realisation that it was a big mistake.

"I remember, an old friend from the Communist Party telling me to refrain from joining the revolution of the mute. My mind would not accept at that time that what he meant was the defeat of an uprising that did not have the support of the people...."

"Those who make revolutions by halves....."

That was the first half. Perhaps the breather is over.

Former Member on Youth

Colombo THE ISLAND in English 14 Jun 87 p 7

[Text]

Opinion : Podi Athula alias Victor Ivan, Member of the JVP Politburo that launched the aborted 'putsch' in 1971.

Victor Ivan lost his hand experimenting with a bomb in Nelundeniya. Today, he functions as editor of a Sinhala magazine.

Q: The Janatha Vimukthi Peramuna is reported to be active again. You left the movement with the failure of 1971. How do you view the new stirrings of the present-day youth?

A: The answer lies in the conditions today that are little different from '71. The youth do not occupy the places they deserve.

I think you cannot fool the majority of the youth. I also think the youth are extremist.

But why are they extremist? They have a grouse against society because they have not got their dues. Especially, the educated.

Q: Could you map out some of the similarities in detail?

A: Yes. In '71 the universities were converted to POW camps. Today, they have all been closed down. That is one.

The leadership wants all the youth to learn English, ostensibly for their own good. But we can manage to conduct our own affairs without English. We don't need it.

The real reason the leadership of this nation wants English is to ensure that the sons of the elite can continue to occupy positions of power.

So, the fundamental conditions are the same.

The educated youth feel cheated when they have to kowtow to a MP to get a job.

These people have qualifications, and they also have self-respect.

Q: What are the reasons for some of these similarities (with '71)?

A: A lot of youth in the urban areas have cashed-in on the garish returns of the open economy. Most are engaged in shady businesses of an ephemeral nature. They end up in clubs as guides, or pimps or cash-in on some other shady aspect of this crass commercialism.

Anybody who thinks the youth of this country have been satiated that way is sadly mistaken. The rural youth have less opportunity to cash-in on these things, even if they want to. To them, the conditions are the same as '71.

They also see that millions are being wasted on various tamashas that are ostensibly for the good of the youth. They know that they would have been much better off if this money was spent on some projects that could have provided them jobs.

The youth do not have to be specially educated on the absurdity of these things. They feel it almost by intuition.

Giving the people houses does not help. The first priority is to give them the means to live in these houses. The first priority is to give them jobs. So the youth inevitably take the extremist path.

Q: Do you endorse that?

A: No. Absolutely not. I have learnt that by experience. But you cannot fault the youth for being extremist. When they are provoked, they lose their senses. That is natural.

Q: So you said it is inevitable. Do they have an alternative?

A: They have to believe in the democratic process otherwise, it will be another sacrifice. That will be the final tragedy. Already, six people have

lost their lives two at Abhayaramaya and four in Katunayake.

They have killed one serviceman in Ratmalana. We can't have this blood letting.

The true irony is that these are the people who feel for the nation. We need them more than the drug addicts and the breakdancers of the new genre.

I think it is two-way. The rulers feel that the youth are extremist. The youth feel the rulers are extremist. And then it blows up. It can't go on.

Q: You say the youth should join the democratic process. You say that you have learnt this by bitter experience.

The government says that they gave them a chance to do that when they freed the JVP leadership in '77. They say the youth walked out on that chance.

A: They joined the democratic process. When they had done that, why did the government proscribe them later. There is no evidence that the JVP was involved in the '83 incidents. In fact, there is evidence that some sections of the government started that. So why did the government proscribe the JVP when they joined the democratic process.

Q: Why do you think the government did it.

A: The government released the JVP leadership and many ministers went on record as saying that Wijeweera was the best revolutionary Sri Lanka ever had. The government expected the JVP to do them a favour for releasing them. This was to draw the youth away from the SLFP opposition.

The JVP did this favour that the government expected.

What they did not expect was that the JVP will criticise the UNP also. The JVP did not owe them that much.

So there was this rearguard action against the JVP. That is what I think happened.

But this was not a judicious move. The government appears to have made the same mistakes in the North also. The government saw the TULF and the younger elements as distinctly separate. They cultivated the TULF, and was disillusioned when the TULF also turned separatist.

Q: Do you agree with the politics of Wijeweera.

A: No. Not any more.

Q: Why

A: Well, I did give the reasons on an earlier occasion. But I do not want to give them now.

Q: Why not now.

A: I attacked Wijeweera when he was being molycoddled by the government. I wrote a book called insurgency '71. In this I mapped out why I disagreed with him. But I do not want to map out

these reasons anymore because I feel that the man is under pressure. I feel the man is being unfairly prosecuted, and I respect that when a man is under that kind of pressure, he should not be criticised

Q: You were one of the leaders of the '71 insurgency. Today you are saying it was a mistake. Maybe you misled these youth.

A: Maybe. I could have just as well been that. The point is that we were misled too.

Q: So you are saying that you were misled too. But perhaps there were people who consciously tried to use these youth to ride on to power.

A: This could have been too. These things could happen. There may be private politicians who want to ride on these spontaneous tides of rebellion.

Q: What would be the outcome if such elements were successful.

A: It would be pointless to speculate what would have happened if '71 was a success.

Q: I mean, what would happen if these private politicians successfully use these 'spontaneous tides of support' for their own ends.

A: These things could happen. If you look at it from a philosophical stand point, those who win a victory based on the power of arms, can wield the power of the oppressor. You can take the example of Stalin in Russia. Or you can take the example of the Tamil guerrillas of the North, some of whom have now turned their guns on their fellowmen....

Q: How many of the old JVP's of the old guard are with Wijeweera now.

A: I would say that 99 per cent of the rank and file have left him. All the leaders have left him.

Q: What do you think of the JVP stance on the ethnic issues.

A: I think they are trying to appeal to the baser instincts of the people. That is wrong. Not that I justify the actions of the Tamil separatists. There is no sense in killing all of these people.

Q: So, you say the JVP went on the wrong path. You went on the same path too.

A: I learnt it was wrong. You have to convince the people. The subjective criteria for a revolution must be there. I am not saying this on Marxist principles. It is common sense. I do not have the impulses I had then as a youth. This is why I can understand this now.

Q: You say all this yet you tend to justify the youth.

A: Yes. I think it is only through noble intentions that they are prepared to sacrifice themselves even knowing the dangers ahead. I admire this selflessness. It's just that they don't know it is not the way. It will be another sacrifice.

Colombo THE ISLAND in English 14 Jun 87 p 7

[Article by Rohan Gunasekera]

[Text]

An ex-JVPer, now a student of politics, who used to be closely associated with the JVP leadership said:

"I was a sympathiser of the CP. The death of Che Guevara in 1967 had a tremendous impact on us young people, and we were influenced by the writings of Che and Fidel Castro.

"The death of Che had a tremendous impact on me personally. I was looking for a revolutionary organisation and I came to know of the JVP. The JVP was looking for new recruits in the universities. They approached me and I immediately decided to join the JVP. That's what I was looking for — not the JVP as such but a revolutionary organisation.

"It is difficult to say what the JVP is trying to do today. I don't get to know about the current political strategy of the JVP. It is very difficult to put the JVP politics into correct perspective because of the lack of information of the actual JVP strategy.

"What I gather about the JVP is from newspapers. My guess would be that the JVP is trying to mobilise the Sinhala masses on a patriotic platform, or patriotic programme. I don't think they are talking in terms of a revolutionary or socialist transition anymore. For the way the JVP analyses it the main contradiction today is the conflict between what they call the patriots and the traitors. I have a feeling that the JVP may be thinking in terms of a possible Indian invasion. Perhaps the JVP wants to mobilise its membership and sympathisers by the myth of an Indian invasion. Whether the threat of an invasion is real or not is a different matter.

"Politically the JVP has not progressed at all since 1971. And they have abandoned whatever merits they may have had as a socialist and radical organisation. The JVP is currently a highly Sinhala centred Sinhala chauvinist political organisation. It has highly reactionary political ideology.

"The JVP initially, whatever the shortcomings it had as a revolutionary organisation, had a socialist political project. It had aims of socialism. I think the JVP has abandoned this socialist project. The defence of the motherland is the main political objective of the JVP today. This I think, is quite unsocialist — the main critique one can make of the JVP today compared with its pre-71 existence.

"The JVP has a strong determination to capture state power. I don't foresee the JVP capturing state power in the near future because

the JVP does not have a viable political strategy to capture state power. In Sri Lanka the revolutionary option is not very viable. Of course the JVP had the idea, after 1977, to come into power through the Parliamentary process, but with the proscription of the JVP in 1983, it has become an essentially underground movement. In our political culture it is very difficult for an underground movement to come into power.

"For an underground party to come into power, it requires a great deal of political planning and strategy. Judging from what is reported to be happening to the JVP I don't think the JVP is a very highly organised movement today. People who form the JVP are mainly unemployed young men. I do not think that any political party that does not have any programme to mobilise a large number of people, cutting across social classes, could come into power.

"The JVP's immediate and central constituency is young people — high school students, undergraduates, sometimes the children of rural peasants. They might be able to attempt a seizure of power, but I can't seriously visualise a scenario of the JVP seizing state power.

"From the very beginning the JVP's core constituency was from the unemployed young people. But on the other hand the JVP talked about organising the peasants, the working class...but I don't think that Wijeweera's strategy had any viable element of organising those social groups and sections other than that group — that was a blind point in Wijeweera's strategy, from the very beginning.

"I have heard that the JVP is preparing a hit list of traitors, but I don't know whether it is true or not. But my feeling is that the JVP considers the leftists belonging to both the old left and the new left, who are critical of the JVP, as traitors, if not enemies.

"It is really a weakness in JVP politics. As far as JVP politics is concerned they don't have any allies. They have a very black and white world view. There is no grey area in between. Either you are with the JVP or you are against them.

"The JVP has always found it difficult to come to terms with their leftwing rivals — whether they belong to the old left or new left. This is an important weakness in JVP politics. They cannot really debate with their political rivals. Sometimes they consider their political rivals as enemies. The JVP had this weakness from the very beginning.

"It will be a good thing if the government lifts the ban on the JVP. My position is that what is required is not a military solution but a political solution to the JVP. As long as the JVP remains a proscribed party, the threat that the government perceives as real becomes greater, but once the ban is lifted and the JVP is allowed to operate as a legal and legitimate political party, I think that perceived threat can be minimised.

"Whether the JVP considers it advantageous to them to accept the government's offer to lift the ban if they give up the effort to stage an armed struggle, depends on the JVP's strategy. If the JVP wants to come to power through Parliamentary means it is better for them to operate as a legal political party.

"Personally I would like to see the JVP becoming a legal Parliamentary oriented political party, than an underground movement. The social classes that represent the JVP have a tendency to be socially fascistic.

"Their politics could be very, very dangerous. These particular social classes, due to certain social pressures, could easily be transformed into "Pol Potish" type political movements. The danger of the JVP remaining an underground party is that it could be transformed into a "Pol Potish" organisation with some degree of social fascism. Lifting the ban on the JVP could be advantageous to the entire country.

"Wijeweera is still able to attract large numbers of young people in spite of the failure of the 1971 insurrection because he is a historical necessity, in a country like Sri Lanka which has a wide spread class of young men and women, who want to see a social change. The traditional left does not offer a viable, acceptable political programme to these young people. Wijeweera has personal charisma, the ability and there is the myth of Wijeweera that appeals to a lot of young people — the myth of a young revolutionary leader. And he speaks to these young people in the language which they understand."

/9274

CSO: 4600/246

SUN PRAISES PRC STAND ON INDIAN AID TO TAMILS

BK260940 Colombo SUN in English 18 Jun 87 p 7

[Editorial: "A Friend in Need"]

[Text] The People's Republic of China is apparently one of those few countries in the world that could stand up for its convictions amid mounting injustice and tyranny.

At a time when Sri Lanka's sovereignty and territorial integrity are at stake and the threat of invasion looms large over its horizons the People's Republic of China is courageously and forthrightly championing the core values of independence and non-interference in the internal affairs of sovereign nations.

In no uncertain terms it has told muscle-flexing India to keep off Sri Lanka.

According to reports from China Liu Shuqing, the PRC's vice foreign minister, has pointedly told visiting Indian Foreign Minister Narain Dutt Tiwari that: The nationality issue of Sri Lanka which is an internal affair of that country, should be properly resolved by Sri Lanka alone and brooks no interference by other countries.

This is the kind of thinking and plain speaking that one would expect of a major world power interested in maintaining peace.

When India chooses to flout all norms of good behaviour among nations and the guiding principles of good neighbourliness, it is the duty of all peace-loving nations to speak up and inambiguously [as published] condemn the bully.

The People's Republic of China has done just this.

The violation of this country's airspace on 4 June by this South Asian power hardly evoked even a word of protest from the so-called custodians of world peace.

True, we should work towards a peaceful resolution of our problems with our brothers in Jaffna but in the face of this blatant injustice, the

world community chose to remain silent and did not denounce India in unmistakable terms. It was unfortunate both for Sri Lanka and the cause of world peace.

The Indian violation of International Law met with only muted protests from even Sri Lanka's trusted friends. Double speak and double think seemed to be the order of the day.

Against this background, China's clear warning to India is doubly welcome. It was China we remember that when the rest of the world looked askance at us in our economic difficulties of 1952 and the food crisis came to our aid. The result was the time tested Rubber-Rice Pact. Since then Sino-Lankan ties have been growing over the years irrespective of changes in the domestic, political set up, whether here or in China.

We are sure that not only all the littoral states of the Indian Ocean and the Arabian Sea but also those other small countries of the world will join us in applauding China's courage and humanitarian concern for those nations that cannot boast of nuclear missiles as India does.

Thus China has proved to be a friend in need, and needless to say, it is establishing itself as a friend indeed.

Let's hope that China's example would be followed by other nations, that our hoping to usher in an era of peace for mankind.

The world would do well to remind itself that evil prospers when good men remain silent.

/9604

CSO: 4600/247

LTTE RADIO INTERCEPTED ABOUT MOVE ON INDIAN FOOD

BK241145 Colombo LANKA PUWATH in English 1122 GMT 24 Jun 87

["OANA/POCL" item]

[Text] Colombo, 24 Jun (LANKA PUWATH)--An intercepted radio message between Sri Lankan Tamil terrorists based in Madras and Jaffna this week bared the lid off a massive ongoing disinformation campaign against the Sri Lankan Government being directed from Madras, intelligence sources told LANKA PUWATH today.

The sources said that in one message the terrorist propaganda chiefs operating from the Tamil terrorist disinformation centre in Madras run by the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) had complained to the terrorists in Jaffna that the video tapes and the photographs sent them for the disinformation campaign did not look natural and convincing.

The Madras terrorists told the terrorists speaking to them over the radio from Jaffna, "We must show people are emaciated and starving. The boys in uniform photographed as having taken up positions also do not look natural. When the India food ship arrives at KKS [Kanka Santurai] we must have some people looking as if they were starved and emaciated so that we can get maximum benefit from this operation."

Meanwhile, certain sections of the India media have carried highly distorted and fabricated reports emanating from Tamil disinformation.

One report claims that 650 civilians were killed by the security forces at Vadamarachchi.

The actual figures of those killed are 47 civilians, 28 members of the security forces and 101 terrorists.

Intelligence sources said that the Tamil disinformation reports also claimed that 4,000 Tamil youth had been arrested by the security forces during the Vadamarachchi operations. The fact is that 2,311 Tamil youth were arrested during this operation. Also, 2,115 have already been released and have returned to their parents.

Only 196 remain detained, intelligence sources said.

Intelligence sources pointed out that Ross Munro in his On the Spot report in the 22 June edition of the leading international magazine TIME, reported "the rebels and their supporters in India also suffered a setback. When reporters visited the combat zone and found little evidence of carpet bombing or civilian starvation. The civilian death toll turned out to be close to the Sri Lankan Government's claim of 48, a fraction of the total cited by Gandhi and the Tamil exiles."

/9604

CSO: 4600/247

AMNESTY INTERNATIONAL 'ALLEGATIONS' DISMISSED

BK230817 Colombo LANKA PUWATH in English 0745 GMT 23 Jun 87

["OANA/POOL" item]

[Text] Colombo, 23 Jun (LANKA PUWATH)--The Amnesty International [AI] of London has once again made unfounded, unverifiable, one-sided and untestable allegations of disappearance and torture against the security forces and the Government of Sri Lanka, states a special government communique issued by the Media Centre in Colombo today. The allegations are all the more undependable and unverifiable as shown by the following events relating to the matter at issue.

"The refugee boat people who 'sailed' to Canada originated in West Germany and not Sri Lanka, on their own admissions. Their names, real or assumed, are not known to Sri Lanka.

"The arrests of LTTE terrorists who were extorting money from 'refugees' in West Germany as revealed in the West German press.

"The identification of one of the Heathrow refugees [words indistinct] as A. Satyadaron, a science teacher of Trinity College, Kandy who had gone to Singapore for a short holiday. To date the assumed name of this 'refugee' is not known, though the Sri Lanka Government knows his real name. [sentence as received]

"The numerous Sri Lankan 'refugees' stranded in Fiji, Cairo and other airports figuring prominently in the world press.

"The conviction of a man named Morgan Panchar identified as a Sri Lankan and sentenced to imprisonment for being a courier of heroin from Madras to Melbourne, Australia last year. The name Morgan Panchar itself is a non-Sri Lankan name, sounding more like an Indian name, obviously an assumed name. [No closing quotation mark as received]

These and many other events recorded all over the world would at least cast a doubt on the so-called "disappearances."

Further human rights and fundamental rights including protection against torture and justiciability of such offences committed on persons are enshrined in Chapter 5 of the Constitution of Sri Lanka.

The Supreme Court headed by Chief Justice Sharvananda (by ethnicity a Tamil) has entertained and [word indistinct] on fundamental rights violations alleged by people whilst free legal aid is also provided by the law association when necessary. The attorney general himself by ethnicity a Tamil is Mr Shiva Pasupathy. Habeas corpus and other writs are enshrined in the laws of Sri Lanka.

What the Sri Lanka Government has always stated is that--"Terrorists take on another name when they join the terrorist movement to safeguard relatives, friends and fellow terrorists making identification difficult if not impossible.

"Economic refugees destroy their legitimate passports after leaving Sri Lanka and assume another name in order that they may pose off as 'political refugees.' The Sri Lankan Government does not have any means of testing the identities of such refugees.

"A number of terrorists with assumed names have died in the sea whilst crossing to India or died in the jungles of wounds so that their kith and kin would not know of their whereabouts nor would the Sri Lanka Government. [No closing quotation mark as received]

These and other possibilities have been pointed out repeatedly by the government to no avail.

Finally no sworn affidavit or affidavits are proof of a case unless the sworn affidavit is tested in a court of law where the person or persons swearing to the affidavit. The witness and the attestor can be questioned by lawyers for the defence.

The certifying justice of the peace [JP] or magistrate merely certifies that the affidavit was made under oath before him but does not say that he or she knows the validity of the matters attested to.

In Sri Lanka JP's signatures to any affidavit are easily obtained for JPships are mere honorary titles originated by the British.

In such circumstances the AD allegations have to be dismissed as unproven, unprovable and untestable allegations, made by unknown persons.

/9604

CSO: 4600/247

MASSIVE REHABILITATION BEGINS FOLLOWING OPERATIONS

BK221245 Colombo LANKA PUWATH in English 1053 GMT 22 Jun 87

["OANA/POOL" item]

[Text] Colombo, 22 Jun (LANKA PUWATH)--The Sri Lankan Government has set in motion a massive rehabilitation operation at Vadamarachchi in the Jaffna Peninsula which is now under government control following an effective security forces operation against separatist-terrorists, official sources told LANKA PUWATH today.

They said that the Bank of Ceylon branch, schools and other public institutions were being re-opened while arrangements have been made for the government to purchase the agricultural produce of the farmers of the area.

This includes an immediate purchase of 1,000 tons of red onions by the cooperative wholesale establishment (CWE).

The Vadamarachchi area stretches from Point Pedro, the northernmost point in the Jaffna Peninsula and tapers down between the picturesque Jaffna lagoon on one side and the sea on the other.

Meanwhile, Jaffna sources told LANKA PUWATH that people in several other areas in Jaffna, including the town were anxious to cooperate with the government but were prevented of doing so by the terrorists who were now desperately clinging on to the power they hold over some of their people from behind the barrel of a gun.

The sources said that the terrorists whose ordnance factories had been destroyed and supply lines disrupted were experiencing an acute shortage of arms, ammunition, manpower and other logistics.

There was firm evidence to show that in several areas the terrorists were plundering food from Jaffna residents.

Meanwhile, a foreign journalist told LANKA PUWATH that an elderly resident had told him "we thought the boys (LTTE and EROS) would stand up and fight till the last. But, what they did at Vadamarachchi was to turn tail and run leaving us to face the music. But, this has turned out to be merciful. For now the Sri Lankan Government has moved in fast and is rehabilitating the area speedily."

SRI LANKA

SOUTH ASIA

LANKA PUWATH REPORTS ACTIONS AGAINST LTTE FORCES

BK211259 Colombo LANKA PUWATH in English 1101 GMT 21 Jun 87

["OANA/POOL" item]

[Text] Colombo, 21 Jun (LANKA PUWATH)--A special task force night patrol spotted two armed terrorists at Mandan, in the Batticaloa District last Friday and fired at them. One terrorist belonging to the LTTE named Thevan was killed and his weapons were recovered. The other dropped his rifle and fled.

The media center in Colombo told LANKA PUWATH today that terrorists attacked the Puloli army camp in northern Sri Lanka last Friday with mortars from a long distance mortar launcher.

Troops returned fire effectively and silenced the mortar fire by terrorists.

The Sri Lanka Navy captured a motorised terrorist Vallam of the west coast of Nainativu in the Jaffna District yesterday. On seeing the navy boat the terrorists had jumped into the sea to escape. The terrorists who jumped into the sea are believed to have drowned.

The following were recovered from the terrorist boat: 40 mortar bomb casings (unfilled), 25 kilos of metal bullets in a bag, two cans of gun powder each containing 24 kilograms, 25 bags of gelignite each containing 24 kilograms, four reels of detonator fuses (each fuse 305 meters in length), 100 high explosive pentelite boosters, one camera, books on terrorism and the LTTE and one can of diesel.

The terrorists who jumped into the sea are believed to have drowned.

/9604

CSO: 4600/247

OVER 61 LTTE, EROS LEADERS SAID KILLED

BK151021 Colombo LANKA PUWATH in English 0923 GMT 15 Jun 87

["OANA/POOL" item]

[Text] Colombo, 15 Jun (LANKA PUWATH)--Sixty one (61) regional and area operational 'commanders' of the LTTE and EROS were killed by government troops during the past 3 weeks, official sources told LANKA PUWATH. The LTTE lost 56 while the EROS lost five.

These two terrorists gangs killed four PLOTE frontliners who refused to join them when they suffered very badly at the hands of the security forces. Among the LTTE men were Radha who replaced Kittu as Jaffna commander. He was killed at Thondamannaru. Radha was made Jaffna commander after Kittu lost a leg as a result of a hand grenade attack on him. Kittu is now a back room boy in the LTTE.

Some of the others killed were Palani (LTTE signals officer in [words indistinct] LTTE Bar Road-Batticaloa leader), Somasunderam Pushparaja (Sammanthurai-lte), Fugawingam alias Butto (EROS-Akkaraipattu), Suddharkar and Tameen (landmine specialists-LTTE Batticaloa), Karunan [name indistinct] (EROS-Trincovalee).

The latest was the LTTE regional frontliner at Thirukkody, Batticaloa, identified as Ndar, who was killed yesterday.

Official sources said that these losses have completely demoralised the LTTE and the EROS forcing them to abandon their plan to open confrontation with security forces and return to their low profile hit and run terror tactics including the planting of landmines.

The successes gained by the security forces have forced LTTE leader Velupillai Prabhakaran to go into hiding, further weakening the spirit of his marauding murderers.

Official sources told LANKA PUWATH that government troops were also successful in shooting down some LTTE terrorists who were responsible for the murders of innocent civilians.

/9604

CSO: 4600/247

4 SOLDIERS KILLED IN PRESSURE MINE BLAST

BK231415 Colombo LANKA PUWATH in English 0908 GMT 23 Jun 87

["OANA/POOL" item]

[Text] Colombo, 23 Jun (LANKA PUWATH)--Four soldiers were killed when one of them accidentally trod on a terrorist pressure mine at Velvettithurai, Jaffna District, northern Sri Lanka, last Sunday [21 June].

The Media Centre in Colombo told LANKA PUWATH that four security forces personnel belonging to the 5th Gemunu watch of the Sri Lanka Army were killed when one of them accidentally trod on a terrorist pressure mine while they were on a search and clearing operation of some abandoned buildings.

These search and clearing parties are scouring the area for land mines, booby traps and pressure mines which had been planted as a line of defence by the LTTE when they were in occupation of the Vadamarachchi area.

Those killed are: Private J. Ananda of Haldummulla, Private D.K.M. Appuhamy of Badulla, Private H.H. Somaratne of Kekunadura, Private W.K. Weeraratne of Agalawatta.

In the Killinochchi district, 1 1/2 miles south of Elephant Pass Colombo-Jaffna road lorries, buses and fuel bowsters are now making use of the route diversion constructed by the security forces after the LTTE blasted a road culvert on the Colombo-Jaffna road. The culvert is being repaired and will be available for use in a few days time.

In the Trincomalee district Neruvila-Thoppur road, a group of terrorists attacked a group of villagers who were serving as home guards. The home guards returned fire and the terrorists ran away leaving behind a land mine weighing 35 kgs.

Meanwhile, in the Batticaloa district at Kiran yesterday evening a Special Task Force (STF) patrol confronted two terrorists one of whom threw a bomb at the patrol and ran. One terrorist belonging to the EROS named Satyan was killed. The other ran away.

There were no casualties to the STF patrol.

/9604

CSO: 4600/247

MERCENARIES TRAIN ARMY IN GUERRILLA WAR

Kuala Lumpur NEW STRAITS TIMES in English 2 Jun 87 p 3

[Article by Richard S. Ehrlich]

[Text]

KALUTARA: Three blond and brawny British men in their 40s sit together in the air-conditioned dining room of a luxury hotel here, delicately eating bowls of chocolate ice cream after a dinner of fish accompanied by fine white wine.

They blend in casually with other sun-tanned Europeans at this secluded resort nestled amid coconut palms on Sri Lanka's south-west coast, some 30 miles (50km) from the capital, Colombo.

But there is one major difference. These three men, relaxed and laughing, are neither tourists nor visiting businessmen.

They are former members of Britain's elite SAS (Special Air Service) regiment and they are in Sri Lanka to help Government security forces combat Tamil guerilla groups fighting for an independent State in the northern and eastern provinces of the island.

Some call them soldiers of fortune. Others call them mercenaries.

While the three men relax for an evening in the Tangerine Beach Hotel, their colleagues are at a military camp a few miles away, teaching anti-terrorist tactics to the Sri Lankan Special Task Force (STF).

At present there are an estimated 35 to 60 foreign mercenaries in Sri Lanka, earning tax-free salaries of US\$33,000 (about M\$83,000) a year.

All have been supplied by a British private security company called Keeny Meeny Services (KMS) which has been contracted by the Sri Lankan Government since 1984.

Most of the KMS men, whose average age is 48, are former members of the SAS; their ranks include Britons, South Africans and some who still consider themselves "Rhodesians".

The Sri Lanka Government is delighted with the mercenaries' performance.

"They have some experience of fighting terrorism," said National Security Minister Lalith Athulathmudali. "We have made use of them primarily to train the police and create a paramilitary group."

He said the Sri Lankans "have learned a lot of new tactics and have brought areas where they operate under fairly good control".

Tamil rebel groups, however, accuse the mercenaries of turning the STF into a squad of machine gun-wielding thugs who terrorise, torture and kill innocent Tamil civilians in the eastern part of the island.

The Government denies the charge.

Some Western diplomats, however, say the KMS men should not be called "mercenaries" because that indicates men who actually fight. They say the KMS role is purely to

advise and train Sri Lankans.

That line can be easily blurred.

The KMS men are reported to be training troops to fly US-built Bell 212 and 412 helicopters, which have been converted into gunships with the addition of machine guns and 75mm rockets pods.

Problems occur when a so-called "trainer" and his Sri Lankan pilot come under attack.

"The KMS man sits in the co-pilot seat so a Sri Lankan is captain of the aircraft while flying through battle zones," said a Western military analyst in Colombo.

"It has happened in some areas, if they're flying missions and are attacked from the ground, that the Sri Lankan in the rear shoots back and the KMS pilot takes control because he has more experience dodging enemy fire."

"In the north, the KMS men sometimes transport troops, flying tactically through the trees to avoid gunfire."

"In the eastern province, where there's a lot of fighting, their helicopters are probably attacked once every 40 missions, which is about once every three weeks."

The KMS pilots also ferry foreign correspondents, Western diplomats and Sri Lankan officials to various locations but they do not fly over the northern Jaffna Peninsula

where most of the island's Tamils live and where the guerillas have most of their strongholds.

They apparently avoid the peninsula to lessen their chances of being shot down — which would create a propaganda victory for the insurgents and a diplomatic nightmare for the British Government.

No KMS men are known to have been killed, injured or captured in the civil war.

When asked about their role in Sri Lanka, KMS commander Ken White, an ex-SAS colonel, replied, "We are employees of the Sri Lankan Government."

British High Commission spokesman Jack Jones, carefully choosing his words, said, "The British Government views the presence of KMS in Sri Lanka as a matter between the company and the Sri Lanka Government."

"There are no British servicemen in Sri Lanka. I understand some of them are former servicemen. It's not for the British Government to approve or disapprove of their presence."

"As far as I'm aware, it's a legitimate commercial company which has a legitimate commercial relationship with the Sri Lankan Government in a strictly training role and I understand that the employees do not take part in operations."

On a recent visit, British Home Office Junior Minister David Waddington was asked about KMS.

Said Jones, "The answer he gave is that he understood the people were involved in a training role. He thought it was likely to be a good thing because it would probably improve the standard of training

of the Sri Lankan armed forces."

Another Western envoy, however, said London is deeply embarrassed by the mercenaries' presence because it "implies Britain is involved in the civil war".

The *London Daily News* reported recently that dozens of KMS men quit Sri Lanka earlier this year after complaining that STF troops were out of control and committing atrocities against the Tamil population.

Both the Government and the company denied the report.

The newspaper said the KMS wanted the STF to "win the hearts and minds" of Tamil civilians so they would not support the rebels but the alleged atrocities spoiled that strategy.

It quoted KMS commando Sammy Dougherty, 44, as saying, "Maybe there are atrocities but not as many as there would be if we weren't here."

"I'll tell you what causes atrocities," Dougherty reportedly said. "Indiscipline causes atrocities. Scared, badly-trained troops cause atrocities. But what I teach helps stop them."

"We're saving lives here, we're teaching self-control."

Athulathmudali, praising the KMS role, said, "If I can quote Western diplomats who keep records of these things, they said complaints against the security forces have gone down by something like 42 per cent between 1985 and 1986."

"I think that we can still do better. But that's a good indication in my view of the kind of impact we've been able to have by employing foreigners to work with Sri Lanka's security forces." — *Compass News Features*.

/9274

CSO: 4600/245

LTTE BOMBS RAILROAD CULVERT, SHELLS BUILDINGS

BK261115 Colombo LANKA PUWATH in English 1044 GMT 26 Jun 87

["OANA/POOL" item]

[Text] Colombo, 26 Jun (LANKA PUWATH)--Terrorists belonging to the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) blasted a railway culvert between Iranamadu and Murugandy, Kilinochchi, norther Sri Lanka yesterday, the Media Centre in Colombo told LANKA PUWATH.

There had been no railway transport from Vavuniya to Jaffna due to the blasting of various culverts earlier.

Since the railway department had repaired the earlier culverts and made railway transport possible, the LTTE terrorists have now blazed yet another culvert thus preventing resumption of railway traffic to and from Jaffna.

One and a half miles south of Elephant Pass also in Kilinochchi the road culvert blasted by the LTTE terrorists on 22.6.87 [22 Jun 87] has now made open for public transport. The highways department and the security forces are now putting the finishing touch to a new and more firmly strengthened culvert. The road diversion is no longer necessary.

Despite the announcement of a so-called "ceasefire" by the LTTE headquarters in Madras the LTTE terrorists fire mortars continuously at the Jaffna Fort and CTO [Ceylon Telecommunications Office] complex yesterday further endangering the delicate equipment in the CTO buildings.

Security forces returned fire.

Terrorists belonging to the LTTE also fired mortars at the Navatkuly camp in northern Sri Lanka right through the night yesterday. Troops returned fire.

/12624

CSO: 4600/255

BRIEFS

TERRORISTS' MORTAR FACTORY BOMBED--Colombo, 20 Jun (LANKA PUWATH)--Sri Lankan security forces who were under constant mortar fire by separatist terrorists directed at the Jaffna Fort army camp for the past two nights, retaliated today by bombing the terrorist factory which manufactured the mortars destroying it and a number of terrorists involved in the manufacture of bombs are believed to have been killed. The media centre in Colombo told LANKA PUWATH this evening that in view of the continuous mortar attacks by terrorists at the Jaffna Fort on the nights of the 18th and the 19th the security forces decided to neutralise some of these positions. Today at 1630 hours (local time) the security forces attacked by air a bomb manufacturing factory manufacturing mortar bombs at Uduvil in the Jaffna District and a terrorist base from where mortars are being directed at the Jaffna Fort. The bomb factory has been destroyed. The terrorist base caught fire confirming the presence of explosives stored in the base. It is believed that many terrorists died and several others wounded as a result of these attacks. No civilian casualties are expected as these areas have been vacated by civilians after repeated warnings from the security forces for the civilians to stay away from terrorist bases. [Text] [Colombo LANKA PUWATH in English 1553 GMT 20 Jun 87] /9604

CIVILIANS KILLED IN JAFFNA BOMBING--Sri Lankan airforce planes resumed bombing of Jaffna Town and its outskirts yesterday. According to preliminary information from travelers reaching Vavuniya from Jaffna last night, at least 12 civilians were reported killed in a bomb attack. Fourteen more with serious injuries were admitted to Jaffna hospital. An official spokesman told our Colombo correspondent, Plabon Majumdar, that the air raids were undertaken to stop, what he called, intense mortar fire from the militants toward the fort camp. He also claimed that a number of militants have been killed and a bomb factory at Uduvil and a bunker near the fort camp have been destroyed. Independent reports, however, said at least 10 houses have been damaged. The travelers from Jaffna also alleged that security reinforcements have reached the Jaffna fort garrison and they are preparing for an assault on the town. A large number of people are still fleeing the Jaffna Town. Over 1,000 people reached Vavuniya from Jaffna yesterday. [Text] [Delhi Domestic Service in English 0240 GMT 21 Jun 87] /9604

TROOPS ATTACK 2 LTTE BASES--Colombo, 22 Jun (LANKA PUWATH)--Government troops attacked two bases belonging to the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) at Pavatkodichenai and Kallikodiyaru in the Batticaloa District, Eastern Sri Lanka yesterday, the Media Centre in Colombo told LANKA PUWATH. One terrorist was killed and three others were captured. Troops also recovered four pedal cycles, one roll of wire, torch batteries, two pocket radios, camouflage T-shirts, crash helmets and food stocks from the two bases. M.G.P. Gunawardene of the national auxiliary force who was on a patrol at Dehiwatte-Kallar in the Trincomalee District, died when he accidentally trod on a land mine, setting off an explosion yesterday. No other member of the patrol was hurt. Security forces in a search operation of the Pottuvil town, in the Ampara District, eastern Sri Lanka yesterday, recovered four rocket propelled grenades, two petrol bombs, six hand grenades and a small quantity of ammunition hidden in various places in the town. [Text] [Colombo LANKA PUWATH in English 0958 GMT 22 Jun 87] /9604

JAFFNA MILITARY OFFENSIVE--Human right activists and relief workers from the war torn Jaffna Peninsula say that more than 700 people have been killed and many more injured in the recent Sri Lankan military operations. They said about 4,000 youths between 15 and 35 years of age have been arrested and taken to the (Busa) army camp in the south for questioning. No list of those arrested have been made available. The military operations followed the fuel embargo and restrictions on inflow of food and medicine into the peninsula. This has reduced the poorest sections of the community to starvation. [Text] [Delhi Domestic Service in English 1230 GMT 22 Jun 87] /9604

TERRORIST ACTIVITY REPORT--Colombo, 25 Jun (LANKA PUWATH)--Separatist terrorists directed small arms fire at the Jaffna Fort from the direction of the Beach Road in Jaffna, northern Sri Lanka yesterday, the Media Centre in Colombo told LANKA PUWATH today. Security forces did not retaliate. Terrorists also directed mortar fire at the security forces camp at Kayts yesterday from the direction of the Kaytts Church. Security forces did not return fire. Herath, of the 4th Ceylon Light Infantry (CLI) was killed when he accidentally stepped on a terrorist booby trap at Point Pedro, Jaffna District last Tuesday. At Vavunativu in the Batticaloa District, eastern Sri Lanka, government troops returned fire when separatist terrorists fired mortars at the army camp last Tuesday. A special task force patrol captured two terrorists with their weapons at Kalkudah, also in the Batticaloa District yesterday. [Text] [Colombo LANKA PUWATH in English 0830 GMT 25 Jun 87] /9604

SHIP ARRIVES AT KANKESANTHURAI--Colombo, 25 Jun (LANKA PUWATH)--The Indian freighter, Island Pride, carrying approximately 500 tons of food arrived in Sri Lankan territorial waters today at 1030 hours (local time) [0500 GMT] and was escorted to the Kankesanthurai (KKS) port, Jaffna District, northern Sri Lanka, by the Sri Lanka Navy, official sources told LANKA PUWATH.

Latest reports said that the vessel was outside the KKS port at 1300 hours (local time) while a smaller vessel, Shrivantha, carrying Indian officials, journalists and others which was brought to the KKS port was berthed in the KKS harbour. The cargo sent by the Indian Government included rice, flour, sugar, kerosene, medicine, etc. The Indian Government gift will be handed over to the Government Agent (GA), Jaffna for distribution through the multi-purpose cooperatives throughout the peninsula. [Text]
[Colombo LANKA PUWATH in English 0939 GMT 25 Jun 87] /9604

INDIAN RELIEF GOODS SHIP ARRIVES--Colombo, 26 Jun (LANKA PUWATH)--The Indian motor vessel 'Shri Vatsawa', yesterday discharged 25 tons of medicines at the port of Kankesanthurai, comprising 1760 packages and taken to distribution in 10 trucks, while the larger freighter 'Island Pride' began discharging her cargo of 686 tons of rice, flour, sugar, kerosene and other food stuffs this morning, official sources told LANKA PUWATH. This operation should be over by Sunday. The Sri Lankan Government already has two months stocks of essential food in the Jaffna peninsula. [Text]
[Colombo LANKA PUWATH in English 1034 GMT 26 Jun 87 BK] /12624

TERRORIST ACTIVITY REPORT--Colombo, 27 Jun (LANKA PUWATH)--Terrorists belonging to the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) gang directed small arms fire at the Jaffna Fort, northern Sri Lanka accompanied by night flares yesterday, the Media Centre in Colombo told LANKA PUWATH. At Keerimali the terrorists fixed flares over the security forces camp. The release says however that no firing took place. In another incident on Friday 26th, a security force patrol on a clearing operation recovered the following items from an abandoned terrorist base. One exploder and detonators, electric wire, four claymore mines, one cobra type security light and some lamp shades. [graf as received] Yesterday, a security force patrol at the Puloly camp detecting four terrorists trying to infiltrate the area opened fire killing one terrorist. The other three fled, the media centre said. [Text]
[Colombo LANKA PUWATH in English 0852 GMT 27 Jun 87 BK] /12624

HAMEED ON RELATIONS WITH INDIA--The Sri Lankan foreign minister, Mr Hameed, has said that despite differences, New Delhi and Colombo have not allowed their relations to deteriorate. In an interview with the English daily ISLAND, he said the very fact that during the ethnic crisis running through the last 3 years a dialogue was possible between the two shows that we have been careful to avoid a situation where all doors are closed. [Text]
[Delhi Domestic Service in English 0830 GMT 28 Jun 87 BK] /12624

28 JUN TERRORIST REPORT--Colombo, 28 Jun (LANKA PUWATH)--Separatist terrorist fired mortars at the Navatkuly army camp in the Jaffna District yesterday, the Media Centre in Colombo told LANKA PUWATH. Troops fired back at the terrorists. At [name indistinct], also in the Jaffna District, troops on patrol recovered a motorcycle and about 700 yards of wire kept hidden in a unused shed yesterday. 2nd Lt. C.J.W. Tilakaratne of the 5th Ceylon Light Artillery and Bombardiers Jyothimuni and Chandraratne were killed in a landmine explosion at Uilayukulam, Mannar District in north western Sri Lanka yesterday. They were a part of a clearing patrol and accidentally

triggered off a landmine. A special task force (STF) patrol in a confrontation with terrorists at Kalkudah, Batticaloa District, eastern Sri Lanka killed one and recovered two hand grenades from him yesterday. The other terrorists fled from the scene. [Text] [Colombo LANKA PUWATH in English 0835 GMT 28 Jun 87 BK] /12624

INDIA'S ROLE IN ETHNIC PROBLEM--National Security Minister Lalith Athulathmudali has said that India's role in solving the ethnic problem in Sri Lanka is important because the separatist groups are based mainly in Tamil Nadu where they have the open support of its chief minister. A PRESS TRUST of INDIA report from London monitored by LANKA PUWATH stated that in an interview with NEW LIFE, local ethnic weekly in London, Mr Athulathmudali spoke of the biggest military offensive launched against Tamil militants by the Lankan Army in May. He said that the army's intention was never to attack Jaffna City. It would have caused too many civilian deaths. He said that the military operation is now over with about a third of the Jaffna Peninsula firmly back in the government's control. Asked whether the Tamil groups have indicated they were now ready to negotiate, the minister replied that the government gets contrary signals. Publicly they say they would not negotiate until the government has been driven away from what the terrorists term the Tamil homeland. However, the minister claimed that the groups were privately putting out feelers for negotiations. [Text] [Colombo International Service in English 1045 GMT 26 Jun 87 BK] /12624

CSO: 4600/255

END

END OF

FICHE

DATE FILMED

6 Aug., 1987